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AUTHOR Lowe, John
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ABSTRACT

A summary of the third International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo) by UNESCO, the book examines adult education trends of the last decade, functions of adult education as related to lifelong education, and formulation of adult education policies in the context of national education plans. During the 12-year period between conferences, organized adult education has made notable advances throughout the world. However, weaknesses remain in governmental reluctance to treat adult education as an integral part of educational systems, the low level of financial support, and the lack of participation in adult education programs by those most needing education. Chapter 1 reflects "Changing Ideas and Functions" while Chapters 2 and 3, "Attitudes, Needs, Motivation, and Learning Ability" and "Unmet Needs and Target Groups", examine the nature of the demand for adult education. Chapter 4 presents "Changing Structures" on the international scene, and Chapter 5 examines "Programs and Content". The following five chapters deal with "Methods and Materials"; "The Administrative, Organizing, and Teaching Force"; "Administrative Policies"; "The Problem of Financing"; and "Research and Development". Two concluding chapters, "The International Dimension" and "Towards a Learning Society", discuss the developed nations/developing nations relationship and future implications. (EA)

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the education of adults

a world perspective

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The education of adults: *a world perspective*

by John Lowe

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Preface

In 1972 Unesco convened the third International Conference on Adult Education in Tokyo. It was evident not only from the broad participation in the conference but especially from the interventions and the recommendations of the delegates that much had changed since the second world conference held at Montreal in 1960.

Whereas at many past conferences much time had been spent bridging cross-national and cross-cultural views of adult education, the Tokyo conference demonstrated that a common language based on a common body of knowledge and experience had emerged. Adult education was no longer exclusively seen in terms of specific content, or levels, or methods of education. It had become clear that education for work and for participation in cultural and civic life were not alternatives, but complementary activities. All levels from pre-literacy education to post-professional training were taken into consideration, along with all methods, from informal peer group learning to education on the vast scale rendered possible by modern mass media.

The comprehensive view of adult education adopted by the conference did not, however, imply uniformity. On the contrary, the needs and wishes of the learners became the principal preoccupation. There was a lively concern with the particular needs of various target groups, especially those who for one reason or another were underprivileged.

Adult education was seen to be emerging from its marginal position in relation to formal educational systems and was moving towards a central role in society's over-all provision for education.

In order to situate the Tokyo conference in relation to recent developments and to identify likely future trends, the Unesco General Conference at its seventeenth session decided that a book should be published for a wide non-professional audience of people who, in

national and local decision-making bodies, can do much to promote the education of adults.

The writing of this book was entrusted to Dr John Lowe, at that time Director of the Department of Educational Studies at the University of Edinburgh, who attended the Tokyo conference as a consultant. Dr Lowe has had extensive experience in university adult education both in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. He was the first Director of Extra-mural Studies at the University of Singapore. He has published *Adult Education in England and Wales* and has edited *Adult Education and Nation Building* and *Education and Nation Building in the Third World*. He has served on a number of national and international bodies, governmental and non-governmental, concerned with the development of adult education. [1]

The views expressed in this publication as well as the selection and interpretation of facts are naturally the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco.

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Unesco Secretariat concerning the legal status of any country or territory, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitations of the frontiers of any country or territory.

1. Now with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

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Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War, at intervals of roughly ten years, Unesco has organized a world conference on adult education. These conferences are designed to take stock of achievements, needs and problems and to consider plans for qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion both at the national level and through the machinery of international consultation and mutual aid. Historically starved of funds and unsupported by legislative provisions, organized adult education seems at last on the verge of emerging in many countries as an integral branch of the educational system. The prospects for expansion have been enhanced by the plans drawn up for and the deliberations of the Third International Conference on Adult Education, held in Tokyo from 23 July to 7 August 1972, the largest assembly ever of its kind.

The first International Conference on Adult Education to be sponsored by Unesco[1] had taken place at Elsinore in Denmark in 1949, Denmark having been chosen as the venue because it was generally regarded as one of the two cradles of organized adult education in its modern forms. Dominated by delegates from Western Europe, the Elsinore Conference was preoccupied with the concerns of industrially developed countries.[2] It also took a relatively narrow view of

1. In 1919 a World Association of Adult Education was formed which, in 1929, arranged a so-called 'world conference' in Cambridge (United Kingdom).
2. cf. A. S. M. Hely, *New Trends in Adult Education: From Elsinore to Montreal*, p. 33, Paris, 1962: 'The attitude which emerged from the discussions at Elsinore reflected the essentially Western—if not West European—character of the conference. When delegates spoke about the challenge to adult educators created by the deterioration of the material, spiritual and moral fabric of civilized life, it was natural, and possibly inevitable, that they should be speaking of the more advanced industrial countries of the world, and particularly of the industrialized nations of Western Europe.'

the functions of adult education and in the light of subsequent developments unduly stressed the role of voluntary as opposed to governmental organizations.

Eleven years after Elsinore, a second international conference was held in Montreal (Canada), which explored the theme of 'Adult Education in a Changing World'. Here fifty-one countries were represented as against twenty-nine at Elsinore and the aims and functions of adult education were studied in a global context. The delegates agreed that it transcended both liberal and vocational education and included any organized attempt to educate adults no matter what its level or purpose. This was the first international assembly [1] which, in its *Final Report*, set lifelong education as a goal for the future policies of governments: [2]

> Nothing less will suffice than that people everywhere should come to accept adult education as a normal, and that governments should treat it as a necessary, part of the educational provision of every country.

Despite certain limitations, both the Elsinore and Montreal conferences gave an unmistakable impetus to the expansion of adult education in many countries.

It was appropriate to hold the third international conference in an Asian country culturally as well as geographically remote from the Western Hemisphere. To locate the conference in Japan was a felicitous idea for in 1972 that country celebrated the centenary of the foundation of a modern system of education. World assemblies tend to become known by the name of the cities in which they are held and the third international conference is everywhere referred to as the Tokyo Conference.

During the twelve years that elapsed between the Montreal and Tokyo conferences, organized adult education made notable advances in almost every part of the world. The rate of public participation in formal and non-formal educational activities rose sharply and the number of full-time administrators, organizers and teachers multiplied. There was much greater emphasis on relating programmes to the everyday problems of individuals and communities, and the launching of many functional literacy projects was a conspicuous indication of this. The potential contribution of adult education to economic development and environmental planning was more generally recognized. In a number of States, national working parties were

1. cf. 'It is to the great credit of the Montreal Conference that it defined the principle and stated the fundamental role of lifelong education....'—*Third International Conference on Adult Education: Final Report*, Paris, Unesco, 1972, hereinafter referred to as *Final Report*.
2. Unesco, *World Conference on Adult Education: Final Report*, p. 9, Paris, Unesco, 1960, hereinafter referred to as *Montreal Conference, Final Report*.

appointed to examine the strong points and weaknesses of the existing provisions and to make recommendations for their expansion and in a few States public co-ordinating bodies such as the Kenya Adult Education Board were established.

But if, since 1960, adult education had become visibly less of a marginal branch of education, it was evident to Unesco when the time came to plan the Tokyo Conference that the field remained weak in three key respects. First, governments seemed reluctant to treat the education of adults as an integral part of their educational systems. Second, except in one or two countries, the level of financial support was dismally low. Third and above all, those who most needed education were not participating in adult education programmes because by and large the lower the level of a person's education and the lower his occupational status the less likely is he to want to pursue his education in adult life.

It is one thing to itemize deficiencies and quite another to demonstrate how they may be remedied. In preparing for the Tokyo Conference, Unesco was determined, by designing a conference likely to culminate in action, to focus the attention of delegates upon the crucial question of ways and means rather than upon a reiteration of abstract principles. The specific terms of reference for the conference were brief: (a) to examine the trends in adult education during the last decade; (b) to consider the functions of adult education in the context of lifelong education; (c) to review the strategies of educational development in respect of adult education.

The agenda concentrated upon practical matters. It was arranged that in the plenary session delegates would consider adult education within the context of national educational systems and the desirability of extending educational facilities to all citizens. Two commissions would then examine proposals for (a) making more efficient the planning, management and financing of adult education and increasing international co-operation and (b) maximizing the use of media, improving the staffing of adult education and promoting research and development.

The point of identifying important trends since 1960 was to ascertain how successful achievements might be reinforced. The second aim of the conference was to see where adult education might fit into schemes for introducing lifelong learning systems. From the end of the sixties there had been much discussion about the desirability of implementing the concept of 'necessary and lifelong education' optimistically heralded by the Montreal Conference, but for all operational purposes it had remained little more than discussion. The conference was accordingly expected to consider not only the expansion and modification of adult education systems but the radical transformation of schools and universities within an enlarged and more flexible educational framework.

The third and main aim of the conference was to formulate concrete policies for adult education within the context of national plans for educational development. This entailed determining both short-term and long-term priorities, the level at which planning should be initiated and the respective contributions of governmental and non-governmental agencies.

Planning for the Tokyo Conference took place at a time when the performance of public educational systems was under heavy fire and proposals for drastic educational reform were being broadcast widely. The ideas of those who seek reforms in schools and universities and those anxious to expand and diversify forms of adult education broadly correspond. The two groups are united in their espousal of the concept of lifelong education and in their cry for more comprehensive and flexible educational systems. It was in recognition of the trend towards drawing together the several strands of education that Unesco selected as the title of the Tokyo Conference 'Adult Education in the Context of Lifelong Learning'. The conference documents also stressed that the short-term future of adult education should be considered in relation to the general aims of the United Nations Second Development Decade.

The Unesco Secretariat prepared two working documents for the use of delegates: the first, 'A Retrospective International Survey of Adult Education: Montreal 1960 to Tokyo 1972', the second, a policy and strategies paper, 'Adult Education in the Context of Lifelong Learning'. The data presented in the retrospective survey were derived from several sources, above all from replies to a detailed questionnaire received by Unesco from eighty-four Member States. The policy paper firmly placed adult education within the total educational process, discussed the present impediments to its reform and expansion and enumerated various ways of bringing about more rapid growth.

In order to prepare for the conference, Member States were encouraged to appoint working groups or to institute national inquiries for the purpose of furnishing basic information on developments since 1960 and on the present scope and status of adult education, and of predicting future prospects and supplying information about effective forms of international co-operation. In the event thirty-eight working groups were formed, of which twenty-eight submitted detailed reports to Unesco. A number of non-governmental organizations, international as well as national, also submitted reports or statements. There seems no doubt that such pre-conference activities led in a number of countries to a welcome increase in public esteem and support for adult education. These preparations also produced an immense amount of descriptive, analytical and statistical material which will occupy the attention of researchers for many years to come.[1]

1. This material is now available in the documentation centre of the Adult Education Division of Unesco. Some of it is on microfiches.

Thanks mainly to such careful preparation, the conference in Tokyo was a signal success. Nearly four hundred delegates representing eighty-two States and thirty-seven intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations were present to hear the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Kakuei Tanaka, deliver the inaugural address. Moreover, whereas at Montreal professional adult educators had been in the majority, there was now a preponderance of politicians and administrators with responsibility for determining and executing educational policies; several delegations were led by ministers of education. The presence of such a large contingent of government spokesmen attested to the greater public weight now being accorded to adult education. It also turned the event into an essentially intergovernmental meeting. [1]

Four features of the composition of the total assembly call for comment. The first is that women were gravely under-represented; only twenty out of 350 or roughly one in seventeen. [2] Secondly, the size of delegations did not reflect the size of national populations; Denmark, a small country, for example, sent eleven delegates whereas India sent only one. Thirdly, there were some notable absentees, not least Yugoslavia, a country which has to its credit several intriguing approaches to adult education. The fourth feature is that whereas participants at Elsinore and to a lesser extent at Montreal had been primarily spokesmen from industrially advanced countries, on this occasion the countries of the Third World were strongly represented and vigorously presented their views and problems. [3] One reason for this new influence was that the period since 1960 had witnessed decolonization on an unparalleled scale. The presence of a powerful Third World contingent did not result in anything like a hemispherical confrontation and there were only fleeting recriminations

1. J. Roby Kidd, President of the Montreal Conference, who attended the Tokyo Conference as an observer, has pointed out that there has been surprisingly little continuity of membership at the three international conferences: 'Of the nearly four hundred delegates and observers who were at Tokyo, only eight had been at the Second World Conference in Montreal and only one, Monsieur A. Basdevant of France, at the first conference in Elsinore' —J. R. Kidd, 'The Third International Conference: Tokyo', in *Convergence*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1972, p. 15.
2. Several major delegations, for example, those of Canada, Denmark, Japan and Sweden, contained not one woman.
3. At Montreal the impending influence of the Third World countries had already been foreshadowed: 'In these societies adult education was already regarded as an essential and normal part of the total educational system. Because of the nature of the problems facing developing countries, adult education tended to be regarded as one of the more important branches of education. The adult educator had status and security. His country's experience in adult education might not be based on a long historical tradition but he himself has never been faced with the disheartening struggle to demonstrate that adult education was more than a marginal aspect of education.'—Hely, op. cit, p. 157.

about the failure of rich countries to extend adequate assistance to countries with urgent problems. Moreover, such recriminations as were uttered came mostly from delegates from rich countries.

The success of any conference is largely determined by the initial tone of the proceedings. Almost from the beginning the Tokyo Conference was animated, hard-working, purposeful, friendly, and very largely free from political undertones. Apart from the opening phase, when delegations expatiated at some length on achievements and trends in their respective countries, the discussions were directed to topical and practical issues and conducted in a spirit of readiness to profit from the experiences of others. With up to 400 participants in the plenary sessions, with 150 and more participants in each of the two commissions, with simultaneous translation into English, French, Russian, Spanish and Japanese, the pace of the debates might well have been somewhat slow. In fact, the plenary and commission proceedings were lively and during the occasional intervals in the adjoining corridors and public rooms there was a constant buzz of conversation. One reason for the animation of the proceedings, leaving aside the skill of the elected chairman and the behind-the-scenes deftness of the Secretariat, was the decision implicitly taken at an early stage to ensure that the conference formulate a large number of concrete resolutions. Members of the steering and drafting committees and the whole of a small Unesco Secretariat strove to keep the administrative wheels turning and the countless papers flowing. Inspired by the example of the Rapporteur General, Dr Lars Olof Edstrom, many elected officers and Secretariat staff worked into the small hours and still appeared promptly in their places for the morning sessions.

The conference was remarkable for the quantity of ideas and material that it generated, for the candour and cordiality of the participants and for the modest restraint of the major delegations, who intervened only when they had something constructive to say, thereby ensuring that the aspirations and problems of the developing countries, to which by unspoken consent priority was yielded, were fully revealed. For the first time at a major international conference on adult education virtually no time was wasted in discussing terminology or defining the parameters of the field of concern. Its broad scope, as agreed at Montreal, was fully accepted and so was its social and economic importance. The heartening presence of so many policy-makers changed the tenor of much of the discourse from the largely theoretical level which had distinguished the two earlier international conferences to a consideration of realistic issues and policy options. The desirability of lifelong education was no longer a controversial topic; controversy was centred rather upon the methods by which lifelong education might be instituted during the adult phase of life.

Another contributory factor to the success of this policy-oriented conference was that delegates were not only able to pose a great number of important questions but to suggest a fair number of valid answers. So much hard thinking and experiment had taken place in the field of adult education in so many countries that exchanges of views could be based upon achievements and failures in the realm of actual experience. It might well be true that logistical backing for adult education had lagged behind other forms of education but achievements had, even so, been striking.

A feature of the Montreal Conference was the emergence of a common set of ideas. Despite their diverse cultures delegates quickly understood one another. This mutual understanding might partly be attributed to the high percentage of adult education specialists who were present. The same explanation cannot be invoked to explain why at the Tokyo Conference the Director-General of Unesco could justly claim in his concluding address that the delegates belonged to 'the same intellectual universe', for the majority of them were politicians and administrators, generalists rather than specialists. The explanation lay instead in the rapidity with which information about educational practice in general has spread from country to country, so that to a considerable degree many ideas, experiences, problems and aspirations are shared in common.

With only a few delegations dissenting, the conference agreed that the world was facing an educational crisis. On the one hand, education was becoming ever more costly, indeed forcing many countries to question whether they could afford to continue marching towards its universal provision; on the other hand, so much that was offered in the name of education seemed to be irrelevant to the imperative needs of individuals and societies. Almost everywhere educational systems were already being drastically reformed or would soon have to be reformed. It was essential that adult education should not expand as part of obsolescent or obsolete educational systems but rather expand as part and parcel of flexible and broadly based new systems.

It was necessary to see education as a unity and as a dynamic social force. Reforms should affect every level and type of education and strengthen the links between educational institutions and neighbouring communities. Though the names of Freire and Illich were frequently invoked, not one delegation was prepared to consider de-schooling even as a theoretical gambit; indeed, the delegation from the U.S.S.R., where adult education is not differentiated from the general educational system, did not consider that there was an untoward need for reform. However, most delegates subscribed to the concept of lifelong learning as well as to the value of using informal methods when embarking on mass education programmes.

The many themes discussed at the Tokyo Conference will be discussed at length in the following chapters. Here specific mention

must be made of the dominant motif—the education of disadvantaged adults. This was the one issue that aroused passionate feelings. Irrespective of their political ideologies, technologically advanced and industrially backward countries alike testified that the overwhelming majority of their populations were not participating in adult education and that this same majority mainly comprised the socially and economically deprived: in the challenging words of the *Final Report:* [1]

> Experience shows that the provision of more education in most communities tends to favour most the already well educated; the educationally underprivileged have yet to claim their rights. Adult education is no exception to the rule, for these adults who most need education have been largely neglected—*they are the forgotten people.* Thus, the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people.

Delegates recognized that this task required an unequivocal commitment by Member States. Piecemeal and stop-gap expedients would not suffice. Public adult education services had to be planned and financed at the central government level and firmly co-ordinated. All available means of communication and tools of educational technology should be harnessed in their support. It was also necessary to shift the emphasis from a subject-centred to a problem-oriented approach. The non-formal aspect of education must be highlighted to a far greater extent than in the past.

The problem of illiteracy did not dominate the proceedings as it had done in past conferences but still attracted a good deal of attention. Noteworthy was the attack launched by some delegates, more especially from Latin America, upon the concept of functional literacy. To use the qualifying adjective 'functional', they argued, was gravely to narrow the aims of education. It was more important than ever to stress the education of the whole man.

Despite the pragmatic approach of delegates moral considerations were paramount. Thus, the use of the mass media to increase commercial profit continues to provoke a distaste in some adult educationists which Matthew Arnold would have recognized. That the United Kingdom, 'the nation of shopkeepers', should have decided to make use of television for an Open University seemed particularly satisfying from a human and not merely from a utilitarian point of view.

To judge from recent literature and the evidence submitted by Member States before the conference, many governments are now giving priority to the instrumentalist functions of adult education. Yet at the conference itself there was some energetic resistance to a

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 9.

conception of the education of adults as a means of pursuing collective goals. Many delegates regarded the claims of the individual as paramount. Spokesmen from Latin America in particular argued eloquently in defence of the individual's rights against the trend to impose conformity. The explanation for the contrast between the written and the oral evidence may be that the professional educationists among the delegates, rather than those from the government side, were to the fore in propounding the humanist viewpoint.

But if there was support for a conception of education ministering to the whole man, it was tempered with caution. For the majority of delegations the establishment of a system of education for adults within the framework of education as a whole seemed a revolutionary idea involving as it does fundamental changes in schools and universities, as well as the transformation of adult educational services. There were also questions of principle. At which level should planning be initiated? To what extent should financial responsibility rest with the government? How are the claims of different areas of the educational field to be reconciled within one co-ordinated national plan? While bearing in mind the importance of education as a force for good in the social development of the individual and in his sense of critical awareness, what degree of priority can safely be given to training of a purely vocational nature? For the current educational crisis cannot be prised out of the context of a rapidly evolving technology which, in crude terms of economic survival, requires that not only initial training but re-training be integral elements in a nation's system of instruction. Forward planning was clearly deficient.

As a text, the *Montreal Conference, Final Report* makes more inspiring reading than the *Final Report* of the Tokyo Conference. The reason for this may be that adult education appeared new and exciting in 1960—or at least could be made to sound so. At that time, the idea of lifelong learning was novel; the 'Cinderella' image of adult education had not become a cliché. It was still possible to adopt a Messianic tone without appearing naïve or pretentious. But so rapidly do new ideas progress in the modern world that arguments in favour of adult education that sounded challenging in 1960 were already well worn by 1972. The *Final Report* of the Tokyo Conference is a brief and sober but authoritative document concerned largely with ways and means as is the set of resolutions that accompanies it. Its tone echoes the style of the *Montreal Conference, Final Report* only in the last paragraphs where it pleads the cause of the educationally disadvantaged. But those who turn to the report for guidance will soon see that no issue fundamental to the future of adult education has been overlooked and that concepts and problems that might have been confusing have been lucidly identified and presented in a logical order.

Delegates at the Tokyo Conference submitted 150 draft resolutions, a record number for a Unesco conference. When the drafting

committee had removed overlappings and constructed a number of composite resolutions, thirty-three concrete proposals remained, some addressed to national governments and others to Unesco. If these proposals were to be implemented, adult education would at last find itself raised to a status equivalent to that of primary, secondary and university education. The following chapters will amplify and discuss the themes considered at Tokyo and will look in detail at the policy and operational implications of the resolutions, subsequently endorsed by the Unesco General Conference at the end of 1972.

Chapter 1

Changing ideas and functions

In virtually every contemporary society, forms of adult education have existed for a long time but they were not always recognized as such and it is difficult to name more than a few countries in which, until very recently, they were considered at all important or interconnected. In so far as adult education was recognized as a social service it was as a remedial backstop dealing with the omissions of the formal education system. The variety of its manifestations went undetected except by a few keen educationists. Today the position is different. Adult education has emerged from the shadows and in theory, if not everywhere in practice, it has assumed some critical functions. The widening of its functions has been paralleled by the widening of its content so that, under the aegis of one agency or another, it is probable that at any given moment groups of people or individuals are studying every subject that the mind of man can conceive.

In the past each country ascribed a restrictive meaning to adult education, a meaning that might well change with time. In the United States, for example, at one period it largely signified education for Americanization and, at another, education for employment. It also performed different functions from one country to another. Here it might be identified with literacy classes, there with liberal studies. No wonder that few countries had a coherent scheme of, or even the semblance of a policy towards, adult education. No wonder that at international gatherings there was seldom a constructive meeting of minds.

At the first International Conference on Adult Education, as recently as 1949, delegates had some difficulty in arriving at a common definition despite the fact that they represented a small and relatively homogeneous minority of the world's population. By the time of the Montreal Conference there was a good deal of agreement. Since Montreal the aims and scope of adult education have been clarified

even further, thanks to the interaction of three factors: first, the determination of policy-makers, professional administrators and adult educationists to define their field of concern more precisely; second, the contemporary crisis in education in general which has generated a ferment of debate and led to the popularizing of the concept of lifelong learning; third, the tendency of developing countries to see the education of adults as a national instrument for promoting and regulating social change and economic growth rather than as something for private consumption.

The traditional confusion about the aims and functions of adult education is compounded by the fact that the term is regularly used in speech and in writing with three separate connotations; first, to designate the education of adults; second, to describe collectively all the persons and agencies in a country or globally which provide for the education of adults, e.g. 'adult education ought to be represented on educational planning bodies'; third, to specify an area of academic study. The resulting verbal ambiguity is of such long standing as to be almost irremediable. Many of those concerned to promote the education of adults have recognized the need to dispel or at least reduce that ambiguity. They have perceived that the lack of clarity about the goals of adult education, reflected in structural disunity, helps to account for its relative failure to command adequate public resources. They have also seen that, in the absence of an agreed framework of reference, it is impossible to build up a corpus of theory and practice, to confer fruitfully with colleagues in other countries, to plan international programmes or to pursue comparative studies. Their combined efforts have resulted in some important refinements in the interpretation of the two concepts 'adult' and 'education'.

According to government regulations in many countries, an adult is one who is over an age varying between 17 and 21 and not attending an institution of post-compulsory education as a full-time student. For practical purposes, agencies in receipt of government aid have no choice but to abide by such a statutory definition. But there is now widespread realization that to be an adult implies much more than passing beyond a prescribed age barrier since the age at which individuals reach psychological maturity differs. Young people under 18 or even 17 may not only be working full time but may even be married. Moreover, application of the age criterion glosses over the essential differences between the pre-adult and the adult learner. As C. Verner has pointed out: [1]

> The responsibilities reserved for adults include such things as being economically self-sufficient, a spouse, a parent, and an

1. C. Verner, 'Definition of Terms', in G. Jensen, A. A. Liveright and W. Hallenbeck (eds.), *Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study*, p. 29, Adult Education Association of the United States, 1964.

> active citizen. Not only are these roles immediately productive, they introduce a continuous sequence of new tasks, for which pre-adult learning is never adequate preparation; continuous learning is therefore necessary. However, the attainment of this essential learning throughout life is subsidiary to the primary productive role of being an adult. This shift in roles—particularly of the learner from a primary to a subsidiary place—is the significant element that differentiates an adult from a pre-adult.

Verner's distinction is a valid one. Education for an adult is not just a prolongation of, or substitute for, studies at school or university. It relates to the systematic development of his mind or of his manual and professional expertise which he chooses to undergo when he has become fully responsible for his own behaviour and economic well-being. This distinction has a marked bearing not only upon what he learns but how he learns.

The distinctive characteristics of the adult learner are several. He is free to avoid, engage in or withdraw from an educational experience as he pleases. He regards the hours that he gives to learning as precious and expects them to be used to some constructive purpose, as do many contemporary university students. If what he is taught seems neither relevant to his own experience nor of potential benefit, preferably in the immediate future, he will almost certainly spurn it. Similarly he will spurn information and ideas which are opposed to his cherished beliefs. He usually selects his own area of educational interest and the institution through which he will study. To an increasing extent he also takes advantage of the abundance of new learning devices to choose the method by which he will study. The spacing of his learning is dictated by his occupational and family commitments and as a rule it will be part-time, irregular and spread over many years. The relationship between himself and his teacher is very different from that between the pre-adult student and his teacher. The authority of the teacher is determined by competence alone since there can be no question of sanctions and, outside the classroom, adult students may enjoy the higher social and economic status. There may be no age gap and the student's experience may often exceed that of the teacher. He holds an image of himself which the teacher must respect; he may desperately want to learn but resent being treated as a pupil. For him the consequences of learning may well be direct, immediate and far-reaching. Usually he can apply newly acquired knowledge or skills at work or in his social life. Finally, he and other adults are likely to display a co-operative spirit in contrast to the competitiveness of the young; out of their own experience, adult students can contribute to one another's learning and to a group achievement. The distinctive characteristics of the adult learner are no justification for forcing an artificial distinction between adult educa-

tion and the education of the young, though some zealous adult educators are trying to do so. The aims of child and adult education are very largely similar.

When applied to adults, the term 'education' is now used in a broader sense than heretofore. There are few countries in which it is still identified with a particular set of activities to the exclusion of all others, as was still the case at the time of the Elsinore Conference:[1]

> Adult education is taken to mean those forms of education which are undertaken voluntarily by mature people (in the United Kingdom meaning persons above the age of 18) and which have as their aim the development without *direct* regard to their vocational value, of personal abilities and aptitudes, and the encouragement of social, moral and intellectual responsibility within the framework of local, national and world citizenship. As used both in the United Kingdom, and in the Scandinavian countries, the term presupposes a general standard of literacy resulting from compulsory childhood education.

Today, no one favours a really narrow definition of adult education (equated with regular education); the debate is rather about how comprehensive adult education (embracing all learning experiences) ought to be. One school of thought argues that for practical administrative and academic purposes it is essential to distinguish between unplanned learning and self-directed or independent learning, on the one hand, and education which is planned and provided by an educational agent, on the other. A second familiar definition runs as follows:[2]

> Adult education is a process whereby persons who no longer attend school on a regular and full-time basis (unless full-time programmes are especially designed for adults) undertake sequential and organized activities with a conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding or skill, appreciation and attitudes; or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal and community problems.

This definition is more suitable for developed than developing countries since the phrase 'no longer attend school on a full-time basis' implies universal compulsory education and makes no allowance for programmes designed for adults who never attended school. Unesco has tried to overcome this omission with the following third definition adopted for the purpose of collecting statistics:[3]

> Organized programmes of education provided for the benefit of and adapted to the needs of persons not in the regular school and university system and generally fifteen or older.

1. Statement by E. M. Hutchinson quoted in Hely, op. cit., p. 34.
2. A. A. Liveright and N. Haygood (eds.) *The Exeter Papers*, p. 8, Boston, 1969.
3. Unesco, *Proposals for the Collection of Adult Education Statistics*, Paris, Unesco, Office of Statistics, July 1974 (Com. 74/ISCED/5).

Defenders of the second definition do not deny that human beings are constantly learning from experience and that they can accumulate knowledge and pick up ideas in a passive way by viewing, for example, television programmes described as educative or culturally enriching. They argue, however, that such learning is so fortuitous and undirected that it should not be and cannot be the concern of the educator. Rather education should be concerned with sequential learning experiences carefully designed and monitored by qualified staff for the benefit of learners. This argument represents an institutional approach and has the pragmatic merit of sticking to what seems administratively feasible. But by focusing attention on the efforts of specialized institutions it tends to preclude mass or at least large-scale attempts to extend access to educational opportunities.[1] It also deflects attention from the variety of educative influences in the community which can stimulate and assist learning, especially when purposefully directed. Finally, it underestimates the importance of non-formal and independent learning.

The comprehensive school of thought maintains that all attempts to change adult attitudes and behaviour involve the educational process since, in order to change, people must first acquire fresh knowledge, insights and skills. Hence, to the greatest possible extent and by whatever means available every effort must be made to enable adults to learn effectively not only in formal settings but in all circumstances. All the agencies in society which are in a position to stimulate learning, whether or not education is for them an incidental rather than a primary aim, must be mobilized. These include, among others, the churches, the mass media, publishers, libraries, museums, art galleries and community centres.[2]

Some proponents of a comprehensive definition of adult education go so far as to argue that 'non-formal' and 'independent' learning are so ubiquitous and potentially so creative as to have a claim upon public resources equal to that of formal learning, which has so far enjoyed a near monopoly. Much of the contemporary discussion about the aims of adult education is influenced by the realization that before the advent of formal systems of education people learnt

1. Consider the following definition which is obviously intended to be as comprehensive as possible: 'By adult education we mean the provision which a society consciously makes, either publicly or through approved voluntary organisations, of facilities for learning by anyone, of whatever age, where initial education in schools, colleges, universities, apprenticeship and initial professional training has been terminated, who wishes to learn any subject whatsoever, for any purpose whatsoever—provided, of course, that the subject does not conflict with the fundamental principles of a democratic society.'—J. A. Simpson, *Today and Tomorrow in European Adult Education*, p. 28, Strasbourg, 1972.
2. cf. F. Machlup, *The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States*, Princeton, 1962, where it is shown that the range of agencies disseminating knowledge in a technological society is enormous.

how to fulfil their personal and social tasks by means of non-formal learning. As Margaret Mead has pointed out, there was in traditional Samoa no gulf between society's aims and the aims of education. Today, therefore, we should not be seeking exclusively innovatory approaches to learning but rather reverting to some of the immemorial approaches of traditional societies in order to ascertain if they can be adapted to modern needs and constraints. This does not mean that the present has to become subservient to the past—the back-to-nature fallacy—but that in taking traditional forms of learning we should reinforce and enrich them by applying up-to-date knowledge of learning behaviour and modern technology.

One weakness of non-formal learning is that it is not easy to define vis-à-vis regular education or formal adult education. To those who question the functional value of formal systems of education the attractions of non-formal learning are self-evident; to those steeped in the methods of the formal system, non-formal learning appears inchoate and unimportant. Moreover, in the popular mind education still connotes schools, colleges and universities. That being said, several international organizations and some governments have begun to look upon the expansion of non-formal learning as a rational alternative to investing further resources in formal education.[1]

Certain groups of people are also endeavouring to clarify the meaning of non-formal learning so as to provide a framework for practical social action. They draw a crucial distinction between non-formal learning and informal learning:[2]

> By *informal* education we mean the truly lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in his or her environment—from family and neighbours, from work and play, from the market-place, the library and the mass media.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> We define *non-formal education*[3] *as any organized educational activity outside the established formal system—whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity—that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives.*

1. For example, the International Institute for Educational Planning, the World Bank, Unicef and Unesco. Especially noteworthy have been the surveys undertaken in developing countries by the International Council for Educational Development (ICED).
2. P. H. Coombs *et al.*, *New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth*, p. 10–11, New York, 1972.
3. 'Education' is a misnomer in this context. Hence the use above of the larger concept of 'non-formal learning' to embrace both organized and unorganized learning outside the regular system.

It should be noted that 'non-formal education' as thus defined and as applied to adults is neither more nor less than what people commonly call 'adult education'. It should also be noted that interest in nonformal education has largely been inspired by vocational considerations. [1]

Another definition of 'non-formal education' currently gaining wide acceptance by those concerned to gather accurate statistics on adult education is that proposed by Bowers and Fisher: [2]

> *Education.* Organized communication designed to bring about learning.
>
> *Formal Education.* Education for which learners are enrolled or registered.
>
> *Non-formal Education.* Education for which learners are not enrolled or registered.
>
> Informal methods or activities are increasingly used in formal education programmes. Hence the term 'formal education' is defined above without reference to methods as a determining factor. Formal education, as thus defined, does not become non-formal simply because informal methods are used.

To omit independent learning from the definition of adult education is to assume that a significant percentage of the sum total of all the learning that takes place is not entitled to public support, for recent investigations have revealed that many people devote far more of their time to learning through their own initiatives rather than with the help of teaching institutions. There is no doubt, however, that these initiatives would benefit greatly from public support in the form, for example, of learning resource centres or data banks. [3]

Those concerned to define more precisely the aims of adult education, whether willing to include or exclude unorganized learning, now generally agree that any human need that can be satisfied through education warrants consideration. Thus, the central object of the education of adults is not to pass on knowledge or impart skills but to help individuals to fulfil their potential for all-round development. This entails remembering that each individual has unique attitudes and aspirations and therefore unique learning needs. Up to the present time, adult education has been more or less teacher/subject oriented, especially at the lower level where the great mass of the people are involved. [4] The stress has been upon acquiring and memo-

1. J. R. Sheffield and V. P. Diejomaoh, *Non-formal Education in African Development*, p. xi, New York, 1972: 'Non-formal Education, which is roughly synonymous with the more widely used term "out-of-school education", is thus closer to the concept of *training* (e.g. for employment) than the concept of *education* (which often includes broader aspects of personal development)'.
2. J. Bowers and E. A. la S. Fisher, 'The Search for a Terminology of Adult Education and for Better Statistics: Exploration in a Semantic Jungle', *Convergence*, Vol. V, No. 4, 1972.
3. See below, page 29.
4. cf. this statement by P. Freire: 'At home, as husband and father, I cannot be

rizing information. Adults like children have been expected to learn at a pace and under constraints beyond their own control. Now many adult educationists insist that education should become learner-centred; the learner must decide for himself what stimuli he will respond to and control his own responses. But if he is to learn effectively, he must know how to make optimal use of the most up-to-date learning tools available.

In the last resort it is pointless to prescribe hard and fast rules about what should be included within the compass of adult education. Teachers and researchers of adult education naturally desire to identify every possible manifestation and to construct a working typology both for the purpose of studying structures and processes in their own country and for drawing cross-cultural comparisons, but beyond its interest as an academic exercise there would seem to be little use straining after an artificial unity. Only a few specialists need to have a holistic grasp of what is inevitably a plethora of activities.[1] As things are, there is an alarming credibility gap between some of the functions claimed for adult education and what it actually does. The only indispensable requirement is that public authorities should be prepared in principle to support any adult education whatsoever although, in practice, of course, they must select priorities.

It was claimed above that one of the reasons why adult education had acquired greater prominence between the Montreal and Tokyo conferences was that the utility of education in general was being called in question. The chequered evolution of educational systems in the short space of some fifteen years or so has been traced by many writers and for the present purpose may be summarily noted. With world-wide acceptance of education as a human right there was unbounded optimism during the fifties concerning the private and public value of formal schooling. Then followed the qualification that there was little wrong with the aims of formal schooling apart from a severe shortage of adequate teaching and learning resources, which could be put right by improving teaching efficiency and reforming curricula and methods. Abruptly, we have already entered a third stage—the age of 'Learning to Be'[2]—when the role of formal schooling

the owner of my wife and children, nor at school, as father, can I be the owner of my students. I cannot enter into their beings in order to move them towards the ways which seem best to me. If I do so, I am their dominator and they are mere "things" which I possess; dialogue and true love are impossible.'—quoted in S. M. Grabowski (ed.), *Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator*, p. 101, Syracuse, 1972.

1. For a masterly attempt to provide a comprehensive system or design for adult education, see: C. O. Houle, *The Design of Education*, San Francisco, 1972.
2. The title of the report of the International Commission on the Development of Education published by Unesco/Harrap in 1972 and sometimes referred to as the 'Faure Report'. Hereinafter it will be cited as *Learning to Be*.

is still recognized as essential but complementary to the educational role of all the agencies in society that enable not only the rising generation to learn effectively but the adult population as well. This emphasis on education both outside the school and for adults can be understood only in the context of the current debate about the role of education systems.

Traditional educational systems and institutions are currently exposed to blistering criticism. Some opponents argue that they should be dismantled, for their practical effect is to prevent or at least retard desirable social changes; they teach the wrong subjects in the wrong way, are expensive to run, and perpetuate social inequalities. Education officials and teaching staffs tend to be so conservative and authoritarian that society's only recourse is to disband them. Some critics are witheringly dismissive but not very constructive when it comes to offering realistic alternatives. At the same time, they are surely right in claiming that, in general, schools and universities are not adequately geared to meet the actual needs of society.

What is said to be at fault with contemporary educational systems? First, their objectives are not clear, or, at least, the means they use do not seem appropriate to attaining their objectives. They offer the young a once-for-all experience during a prescribed period of time in childhood and adolescence, which is supposed to equip them with all the knowledge and skills required to see them through a lifetime. There is growing appreciation of the determinant influence on subsequent schooling of early childhood education but the very idea of *post-school* education still seems paradoxical to many policy-makers and teachers. Second, educational institutions stress the retention of information from books in an age when facts ceaselessly multiply and quickly become outdated. In any event, many children acquire more information from the mass media than they do from school, although few attempts are made to teach them how to profit from it. Third, their obsession with orthodox intellectual attainment leads to unhealthy competition. Great numbers of young people leave school with a bitter loathing for the very notion of education because it has stigmatized them as failures. Fourth, its methods are founded on an assumption that the public authorities and the teachers always know what is best; they set the goals, determine the learning environment and regulate the pace. Finally, formal education systems ignore the fact that learning takes place not only in school or university but in the home and the local community and at play.

There is no shortage of such diagnoses of what ails educational systems nor of proposals for reform. New views on the aims of education as well as technological innovations abound and fundamental reappraisals of the practical relevance of educational systems are taking place at national and international levels. The lucid report

of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario[1] is a case in point. Surely there has never been, within a single polity, such a clear call for wholesale reform of the whole educational system backed by such an abundance of solid evidence and hard thinking. There is also a gathering flood of books, monographs, reports and papers demanding the complete abandonment of orthodox educational structures and processes. Illich and the other de-schoolers have attracted most publicity but many other educationists have propounded similar radical solutions. *Learning to Be*, a magisterial report, teems with ideas and concrete proposals for educational reform and yet exposes only a portion of the background discussions and materials upon which it is based. It is remarkable that moderate and extreme critics agree to a surprising extent on what is wrong with contemporary education systems.

The movement in favour of educational renovation and expansion has had a profound effect upon adult education for four reasons. First, if it be argued that the formal system largely fails to educate people in the ways desired, then there must be opportunities for the right kind of education to take place after school. Second, it is self-evident that if children are enormously affected by educative influences outside school so also are adults—the radio and television do not discriminate between age groups when affecting moral and behavioural norms. If such influence are to be mobilized to enhance the education of the young why should they not also be mobilized to assist the adult population? Third, it has now become crystal clear that prevailing social and environmental conditions—family, health, quality of homes, the physical neighbourhood and so on—ultimately determine school performance. These conditions must therefore be changed but how can they be changed without the co-operation of the adult population? In order to want to co-operate and to know how to do so adults must themselves engage in organized learning. The fourth and perhaps most decisive reason why reappraisals of the formal system have enhanced the importance of adult education is the emergence of lifelong education as a widely discussed concept. Would-be reformers have looked for alternative structures and methods and discovered that they may already exist in the unknown territory of adult education.

The notion of lifelong education, as many educationists have pointed out, is almost coterminous with the history of mankind. Hesiod anticipated the concept of 'Learning to Be' by more than 2,500 years: 'Education helps a man to learn to be what he is able to be.' Several world religions have always adjured their followers to study seminal teachings in order that they may live by them. In the present century

1. Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, *The Learning Society*, Toronto, 1972. This report has much to say about the importance of educational opportunities for adults within the general framework of post-compulsory education.

adult educators were hailing its imminence long before it became a fashionable talking-point. These words, written over fifty years ago, have been quoted frequently but have not lost their freshness:[1]

> . . . The necessary conclusion is that adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood, but that adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and lifelong.

The outstanding achievement of the Montreal Conference was to proclaim the concept for the first time at an international assembly. The concept of lifelong education is therefore far from new. What is new is the determination with which Unesco,[2] OECD[3] and some national organizations are teasing out its implications for educational practice.

Interest in the concept of lifelong education has been both good and bad for adult education. It has been beneficial in that it has revealed to a wider audience issues and problems of which adult educators have long been aware and that it has brought an unprecedented amount of logistical support to specific branches of adult education work, above all occupational training. It has not been beneficial in that it has distracted attention from the immediate needs and problems of existing adult education organizations, for not only have nearly all the time and effort been expended upon the structural and curricular implications of lifelong education for the formal educational system and the employment sector but responsibility for preparing new policies has largely been placed in the hands of orthodox educationists and planners to the virtual exclusion of adult educators.

What is the current status of adult education vis-à-vis lifelong education? To begin with, there is clearly a danger that both traditional and emerging forms of 'adult education' will be threatened by a country's adoption of a lifelong educational system. This is because governments may be tempted to concentrate more or less exclusively upon the provision of opportunities for post-school formal education and occupational training, directing their attention to man as a producer and neglecting his family and civic functions. It is only too easy to envisage large funds being made available for these two areas and no more than token sums for the other areas of adult education. Second, one of the current preoccupations, if not the main preoccupation, of adult education agencies is how to meet the needs of the educationally disadvantaged singled out for special attention in the *Final*

1. Ministry of Reconstruction, Adult Education Committee, *Final Report;* abridged version in *Design for Democracy*, p. 55, London, 1956.
2. Through the pioneering studies of P. Lengrand; see, for example, his *An Introduction to Lifelong Education*, Paris, 1970, and others.
3. OECD, *Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning*, Paris, 1973.

Report of the Tokyo Conference. These are the people most likely to be even more neglected than they are now in the event of the introduction of a sophisticated system of lifelong education. The hope of helping them lies in catering to those needs which they themselves recognize as urgent and in using flexible, informal teaching methods. Any system that continues to feature academic courses and the pursuit of formal qualifications will be death to their interests. Indeed, the concern from the adult education standpoint is that rising interest in lifelong education springs in many countries from a desire to rationalize, and economize in, post-school academic education rather than to pursue broad social and economic goals.

The third main reason for the growing importance of adult education is that for sound practical reasons many countries, especially in the Third World, have felt obliged to enlarge and diversify its functions. These functions relate mainly to public or collective rather than to individual goals and can be classified under two broad headings: (a) those relating to the pursuit of national goals; and (b) those relating to community goals.

In pursuance of national goals the only function of adult education that is more or less universally acknowledged is occupational training. Virtually all countries now appreciate that economic prosperity and stability are contingent upon creating and maintaining an adequate supply of motivated and skilled manpower. In highly industrialized countries it is realized that in an age of technological innovation the knowledge and skills of the work force rapidly become obsolescent, no matter how effective initial training schemes may be for short-term purposes. Moreover, whereas the number of jobs for the unskilled steadily declines the number of jobs requiring higher skills and the knack of adaptation steadily increases. In less industrialized countries the impact of technological change on the industrial sector is no different but is far outweighed by the need to increase the efficiency of the agricultural sector. When framing their development plans in the late fifties or early sixties, most developing countries set their sights on speedy industrialization. Today their desire for industrial growth still remains but it is beyond doubt that rural development has become their first priority.[1] Governments are seeking a vast increase in agricultural yields not only so as to create surplus wealth for capital investment but also to enrich the countryside and

1. cf. J. K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, p. 96–7, Dar es Salaam, 1968: 'To be realistic, therefore, we must stop dreaming of developing Tanzania through the establishment of large, modern industries. For such things we have neither the money nor the skilled manpower required to make them efficient and economical. We would even be making a mistake if we think in terms of covering Tanzania with mechanical farms, using tractors and combine harvesters. . . . Our future lies in the development of our agriculture, and in the development of our rural areas.'

thereby to arrest the continuing exodus from the land to the towns.

Setting aside vocational training, it is possible to discern in industrialized countries no more than a glimmering of recognition that adult education might be an adjunct of national policies. By contrast, within many less-developed countries, where nation-building is no idle slogan, adult education is ascribed a major functional role in national plans for development. There are two reasons why the less-developed countries view the education of adults as a national concern rather than the marginal and fragmentary activity it remains in most developed countries. The first is the need to inculcate a sense of national identity and social cohesion so that citizens will pull together for the common good—in Malaysia there are 'national solidarity classes'; in countries such as India with an ancient culture the aim is to awaken pride in the national heritage. The second reason is that, with few exceptions, developing countries have to overcome the problem of grinding poverty. They cannot afford the luxury of educational programmes that do not directly contribute to the end of guaranteeing every citizen elementary living standards—a *home to* live in, sufficient food and good health. The use of adult education as a means of implementing national policy is influenced in some developing countries by acceptance of the residual factor theory, according to which the critical key to development is efficient investment in human capital.[1]

Investing in human capital means not just waiting for the next generation to enter into working life but increasing the skills and knowledge of the adult population here and now. At the threshold of the sixties, developing countries had great confidence in the contribution that formal education, efficiently planned and controlled, might make to economic growth; had not a high level of education helped to produce 'economic miracles' in the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan? That faith has already largely evaporated. Expectations that children and even adolescents about to leave school could be taught practical skills to be applied successfully in due course in working life have not

1. R. K. Gardiner, 'The Development of Africa's Human Resources', *Training for Adult Education in Africa*, p. 3–4, African Adult Education Association, 1969:

> 'In recent years, intensive studies in the mechanics of economic growth, even in the highly developed countries of Western Europe, have revealed that only a small fraction of such growth can be explained by the actual amount of investment made in physical capital. Whereas, it has been found that a considerably greater part of development can, in fact, be attributed to a very wide range of other factors which include education, training, health and rational attitudes to life and work.
>
> 'This realisation has had the effect of making economic planners shift the models of their plans from over-concentration upon physical or material investment to what has come to be variously known as "Investment in Man", or "Investment in Human Capability" or "Investment in Human Resources". And the tendency is that the wide variety of crucial human factors which can assist economic growth have assumed much greater significance and importance than they used to under the old economic theories.'

been fulfilled. Attaching farms to schools and including work on the farm in the school curriculum has not resulted in making children good farmers. It turns out to be far more efficient to curtail the expansion of primary school enrolments and instead to improve the performance of practising adult farmers.[1]

> It is the farmer—not the pupil—who must be the main object of specific agricultural training, although this training itself is likely to be more effective when it is extended to an already more or less literate population.

Adult education, in contrast with the education of the young which may well absorb scarce resources and retard progress, is now generally considered to be a more potent factor in accelerating economic development.

Another function now ascribed to adult education is that of helping societies adjust to the effects of social change. There is a tendency in some educational circles to talk as though social change were a purely contemporary phenomenon. This view is demonstrably false. Consciousness of standing on shifting sands is for some societies at least as old as the industrial revolution. What is new is the rapid pace, complexity and irreversibility of change and the fact that no society is immune from the consequences of technological development. A remote village anywhere in the world may be affected, like it or not, by a political decision taken in a capital city a thousand miles away or by an economic decision taken on another continent. And in how many villages today is there no transistor radio transmitting strange messages, no family not in communication with a young son or relative gone to seek his fortune in the town? The contemporary dilemma is to adapt to these turbulent times without dislocating traditional social patterns and values beyond recall. Societies cannot stand still nor can they afford to change too abruptly. Somehow they have to recognize and to find a way of dealing with constant emergencies while at the same time looking ahead to challenges that lie beyond the horizon. According to Toffler:[2]

> The technology of tomorrow requires not millions of lightly lettered men, ready to work in unison at endlessly repetitious jobs, it requires not men who take orders in unblinking fashion, aware that the price of bread is mechanical submission to authority, but men who can make critical judgements, who can weave their way through novel environments, who are quick to spot new relationships in the rapidly changing reality. It requires men who, in C. P. Snow's compelling term, 'have the future in their bones'.

1. P. Foster and J. R. Sheffield (eds.), 'General Introduction', *Education and Rural Development*, p. 8, London, 1973.
2. A. Toffler, *Future Shock*, p. 364, London, 1970.

Learning, it is now generally believed, will help the process of recognizing 'new relationships' and problem-solving. H. L. Miller has pointed out: [1]

> . . . The adult educator faces the task of resocialising the adult. In a static traditional society adult education is redundant; the adult has no need either to change the ways in which he plays important social roles, or to acquire new skills.

And the ideas of Freire have become influential: [2]

> . . . The literacy process, as cultural action for freedom, is an act of knowing in which the learner assumes the role of knowing subject in dialogue with the educator.

In short, the primary aim of adult education is not to impart information but to help produce behavioural change.

Yet another function ascribed to adult education is that of fostering social justice. However seriously or cynically it may be intended, a declared aim of virtually all contemporary national approaches towards education is equality of opportunity. [3] It is commonly stated that every effort should be made to guarantee equal access to education to all citizens. At the very least, every person should be entitled to a recognized minimum of education, and as the economic prosperity of a nation grows so it should raise the educational level of the whole population. This conviction has undoubtedly gained much wider acceptance since 1960. In addition, experience has shown that in order to remove gross social inequalities it is not sufficient simply to introduce universal primary education, for children who grow up in deprived areas seem doomed to gain scant benefit from attending school so long as the environments in which they live and the hostile or negative attitudes of their parents towards education militate against their learning effectively. Governments can deal with this cycle of deprivation only by initiating major social reforms. Meanwhile, society owes it to adults who went to schools in deprived areas to compensate for the inadequacy of their early education. The equity argument, as advocated in Sweden, for example, logically entails making it possible for older people to keep up with the young. This is done by offering them every inducement to resume their education.

So far we have been discussing adult education functions from a general social standpoint. The belief is spreading in certain developed

1. H. L. Miller, 'Adult Education Objectives' in Jensen, Liveright and Hallenbeck (eds.), op. cit., p. 222.
2. P. Freire, The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom', *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1970, p. 212.
3. See, for example, B. Schwartz, *L'Education Demain*, p. 12, Paris, 1973: 'The concept of equality of opportunity signifies that any natural inferiority, be it economic, social or cultural, must be compensated in so far as possible by the educational system itself.'

and developing countries alike that, with the aid of education, adults can make some impression upon the problems that face them in their separate communities. The undesirable consequences of social change have led many central governments, local government authorities and volunteer groups to turn in desperation to what are essentially adult education devices as a means of combating them. The chief contemporary social evils have received widespread publicity: poverty amid plenty; urban decay; racial conflicts; loneliness; anomy; alienation; the generation gap; drug-taking; contempt for normative social behaviour. In more than one country the breakdown of the social order has reached a critical stage. The blame for this social malaise has been partially ascribed to a lack of social planning and the inadequacy of existing educational systems but it is generally agreed that the root of the trouble lies in the decline of regional ties, the break-up of communities and the nuclearization of the family. The question has arisen, how is a community spirit to be restored? The most hopeful solution has been the application of a community development principle, already widely adopted in developing countries, to stimulate people to tackle their social problems through political and co-operative action and to evoke the idea of the educative community, in which learning takes place through the general stimulus of a learning-conscious environment.

At the micro-level, a function more and more frequently ascribed to adult education is that of anticipating or reducing conflict in the political and employment spheres. In many countries there is increasing concern about the widening gulf between the aims and policies of public authorities and the aspirations of particular groups and communities. This disharmony frequently results in an overt or masked breakdown in public order. Communities feel powerless to influence decisions affecting their daily lives and, for their part, politicians and officials complain that many people protest about injustice and faceless bureaucracies but fail to resort to the properly constituted channels for registering grievances and declaring their wishes. When human relations become soured in the world of work damaging conflicts may also arise: [1]

> Whatever his training and occupational seniority the worker of today will no longer submit to being a mere pawn on the vast chessboard of the mysteries of production or to being another man's creature. He wishes to be adult and responsible, consulted but free to choose.

One way of bridging the divide in communications, as many adult educators have long realized, is to encourage the practice of self-help and to foster increased public participation in the political decision-making process along with an industrial democracy. This opens up

1. H. Hartung, '*Pour une Education Permanente*', p. 52, Paris, 1966.

a new and challenging role for adult education, for in order to operate effectively both local community groups and employers and workers need the guidance of trained professionals and access to the services that adult education agencies can supply. *Learning to Be*[1] refers to this function of adult education:

> While adult educational activity may have a less unifying effect (since it may be independent of and opposed to public education), it does contribute to awakening civic spirit and a sense of social commitment, to arousing interest in others and assisting people to escape isolation—whether chosen or imposed.

In a good number of countries the fourth and final reason for the increasing importance of adult education is the sheer pressure of private demand largely resulting from the growth of leisure. Leisure remains a scarce commodity for many inhabitants of the world. In those countries, however, where the working week is shortening and the length of holidays increasing, leisure is now treated as a right rather than a privilege and this has had a pronounced impact on the scale of demand for adult education in two respects. First, some people wish to use some of their leisure hours for satisfying intellectual and aesthetic tastes or for acquiring skills or for studying in order to obtain better qualifications. As a result, they are making heavy demands on adult education agencies. Secondly, as leisure comes to be seen as a right, so tax-payers clamour for improved leisure-time facilities, including better educational and cultural provision—more evening schools, more opportunities for part-time degree study, more arts and crafts centres and so on.

Education for leisure is at bottom an élitist concept:[2]

> In its essence a liberal education is an education for thought and aesthetic appreciation. It proceeds by imparting a knowledge of the masterpieces of thought, of imagination, literature, of art. The notion which it contemplates is command. It is an aristocratic concept implying leisure.

Leisure is conducive to purposeful learning and reflection only when people are powerfully motivated and when, as Dumazedier, the leading authority on the subject, has pointed out, they have already reached a reasonably high level of education. When men and women work and live in disagreeable conditions and when they have no status, their lives are stultifying, and if they have no status function to fulfil in their communities, then evidently they have no reason to want to learn. With money in their pockets they will seek excitement and escape into unreality at the cinema or by watching television or reading popular books. Without money they will simply stagnate. There is now much discussion in educational circles about how to

1. Edgar Faure *et al.*, *Learning to Be*, p. 150, Paris/London, Unesco/Harrap, 1972.
2. A. N. Whitehead, *Aims of Education*, p. 70–1, London, 1966.

induce more people to use some of their leisure in promoting their personal development. Some educationists argue that most adults who do not participate in educational activities will not, in the first instance, be attracted to intellectual and cultural pursuits for their own sake. They may acquire a zest for learning, however, through engaging in group activities which bring them a palpable material or social advantage.

Aristotle's distinction between work and leisure, and in leisure between education and recreation, has exercised undue influence over adult educational practice. The educational needs of adults can only partially be satisfied by a judicious use of their leisure time, even given that they have any. Some subjects and some skills can best be learnt, perhaps only effectively learnt, through concentrated study over a short period of time and without having to compete with the burden and stress of work. Thus, the concept of time for study has to embrace more than leisure time. Time off from work is required. Some governments have recognized this need by legislating for paid leave and an increasing number of employers are prepared to sanction paid leave not only for the purpose of study directly related to output on the job but for study designed to aid personal development.

In this chapter it has been shown that the broad concept of adult education advanced at the Montreal Conference has gained widespread acceptance among politicians, informed educational opinion and leading adult educationists. After closely surveying the West European scene, J. A. Simpson recently concluded:[1]

> Having stressed the variables between our countries, it is only fair to say that they are overriden by major factors of conception, purpose, attitude and method which do, in fact, enable us to speak with some justification of 'European Adult Education'. Whatever the difficulties of our new definition, there is, in most of our countries, a reasonable consensus about what constitutes adult education.

He went on to say that this community of understanding between Western European countries was unique. In reality, wherever groups of countries share common problems and traditions a consensus about the aims of adult education may be found. There is a consensus, for example, among the countries in Africa that once came under the influence of the United Kingdom. And at international conferences delegates from Latin American countries, with one or two exceptions, convey a strong impression of sharing the same values and many of the same institutional approaches.

Unfortunately, this agreement about the aims of adult education has not led to practical action on an impressive scale. Outside a handful of countries such as Tanzania, where adult learners outnumber child

1. Simpson, op. cit., p. 15.

learners, it is performing only to a limited degree the ambitious functions theoretically ascribed to it. One reason for this is that a great many policy-makers and senior administrators, not least within ministries of education, continue to underestimate the value of adult education or to find its ramifications confusing.[1] Thus, in 1968 the Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference set up a working party on specialist meetings which decided that adult education [2]

> . . . has different meanings in different countries. The Working Party doubted whether this was a suitable topic for a single specialist conference. It also noted that problems of adult education especially as they affected developing countries could be usefully discussed as part of a specialist conference on agricultural education.

Adult education not only lags because legislative and logistical support is lacking but as a social institution it can effectively perform its ascriptive functions only when faced with a responsive clientele. As things are, there is a mismatch between the aims of many current programmes and the large aims ascribed to adult education at the theoretical level. In country after country only a small segment of the adult population takes advantage of educational opportunities and that segment normally corresponds to the already privileged to such an extent that the consequence of the recent expansion of adult education has been to widen rather than reduce social disparities. The imbalance is mainly caused by the lack of interest in current programmes shown by large majorities in most countries and the difficulty on the public authorities' side of translating their goodwill into action. It would seem necessary, therefore, as agreed at the Tokyo Conference, to go beyond general declarations of intent and to ascertain precisely what human needs adult education might satisfy if the providers and consumers could only be brought into a fruitful partnership. The next two chapters will accordingly examine the nature of the demand for adult education.

1. cf. P. H. Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis*, p. 139, London, 1969: 'The aims of these activities are often unclear, their clientele undefined and responsibility for their management and funding scattered among dozens of public and private agencies. They sprang up spontaneously, come and go, at times succeed brilliantly but just as often die unnoticed and unmourned.' cf also: Office Catholique d'Information sur les Problèmes Européens (OCIPE), *Continuing Education in the Making of Europe*, p. 4, Brussels, 1971: 'The idea of continuing education is still a matter of controversy. Some reject it as subversive because it puts the usual forms of education into question afresh and because it involves a critical appraisal of cultures and societies.'
2. *Report of the Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference Lagos, 1968*, p. 68.

Chapter 2

Attitudes, needs, motivation and learning ability

If success could be weighed in numbers then adult education agencies would have every right to be elated by their more recent achievements. In preparation for the Third World Conference on Adult Education, Unesco invited Member Sates to reply to a questionnaire which included an item about enrolment trends. The response was uniform: in nearly every country the rate of participation had soared since the Montreal Conference[1] and there was no sign of the curve of progress dipping or even flattening out. Several countries reported that in any one year 20 per cent or more of their populations had become participants.

Yet a widespread unease was reflected in the debates at the Tokyo Conference. This was due to the fact that a direct relation is now seen to exist between the level of initial education to which people attain and their willingness to continue their education in adult life. In nearly all countries there are pronounced differences between the socio-economic characteristics of those who participate in adult education and those who do not. Individual perceptions of its value vary according to the social status of the observer. Participation, especially in more formal educational activities, is a middle-class phenomenon. Thus the numerical expansion of enrolments during the sixties was very largely a direct result of the general expansion of compulsory schooling, particularly at the primary school level in developing countries and at the upper secondary stage in industrially advanced countries. How can there be satisfaction with mere quantitative growth when people with the least education do not take advantage of the available opportunities or are denied access to such opportunities?

1. In Poland, for example, the rate of enrolments trebled between 1960 and 1972.

In the old tradition of such countries as Denmark and the United Kingdom there was an evangelical strain and an unquestioning assumption that the principal aim of adult education was to help those who had not been able to profit from initial education. Until very recently the illusion remained in these two countries as well as in many others that adult education was an essentially egalitarian service. In fact, it has not been so for some considerable time. Realization of this truth has dawned as a result of asking what adult education is contributing to the social, economic and environmental problems discussed in Chapter 1 and finding that the answer is not a great deal. Today concern about the narrow appeal of adult education has become a stock item on the agenda of almost every national and international conference. Never before the Tokyo Conference, however, had concern for the educationally underprivileged been felt so deeply:[1]

> No groups or individuals in society should be denied access to adult education. Participation should be as broadly based as possible. This requires that barriers to access should be removed and that the motivation for adults to learn be specially studied. It should be particularly noted that many adults lack the time and resources to participate in education. Paid study leave, day release and security of employment during study leave should therefore be guaranteed through appropriate legislation. Unemployed workers should have the right to occupational training and to be paid during training. Workers' education and trade union and co-operative education should be promoted. The main thrust of adult education in the 1970s in developing programmes should be to meet the educational needs of traditionally underprivileged groups in many societies. Among these can particularly be mentioned unemployed youth, premature school-leavers in developing countries, the rural population of many countries, migrant workers, the aged and the unemployed. Within these groups girls and women are often particularly disadvantaged.

The above view—that at appropriate stages in his or her life every adult ought to participate in organized learning experiences—is easy to hold but uncommonly difficult to implement.

The main determinants of participation are socio-economic status, age and educational attainment.[2] All are important but the

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 17.
2. cf. J. W. C. Johnstone and R. J. Rivera, *Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults*, p. 7, Chicago, 1965: 'Taken together, the impact of all three factors [education, occupation, and income] was enormous: a person who had been to college, who worked in a white-collar occupation, and who made more than $7,000 a year was about six times more likely to have been engaged in learning pursuits during the previous year than a person who had never gone beyond grade school, who worked in a blue-collar occupation, and whose family income was less than $4,000 a year.'

most significant fact is that a positive correlation generally exists between the inclination to participate and the previous level of educational attainment. Indeed a law of participation might be stated thus: 'the more education a person has experienced, the more education he is likely to seek; the less education a person has experienced, the less education he is likely to seek.' The tendency for participants in adult education to have had a fair amount of previous education and to enjoy a fairly high social status and for non-participants, by contrast, to have had little or no education has not simply been discerned by organizers but has amply been borne out by statistical inquiries.[1] It is also a cross-cultural phenomenon:[2]

> In the 1960s a great deal of research was done in the U.S.S.R. on the problem of free time. This research has shown that low educational standards account for the fact that certain sectors of the population make inadequate use of the cultural amenities afforded them by the State. A close link was also established between educational standards, the utilization of free time and opinions about the way in which it was used.

A large-scale survey carried out in the United States in 1961–62 led to the conclusion that:[3]

> The adult education participant is just as often a woman as a man, is typically under forty, has completed high school or more, enjoys an above-average income, works full-time and most often in a white-collar occupation, is married and has children, lives in an urbanized area but more likely in a suburb than a large city. . . .

A nation-wide survey carried out in England and Wales in the late sixties revealed that 58 per cent of the sample had never attended an adult education programme. If there was a typical participant, it was a middle-class woman aged under 40, who had completed her secondary education and who was attending non-vocational courses in order to foster her cultural development.[4]

The disregard for adult education by large sections of national populations does not result, in most cultures, from the fact that they

1. For example, in countries belonging to the Council of Europe: 'Investigations into the slow growth of popular response to adult education have, over the past fifteen years, brought out the fact that this response diminishes sharply among those who have had only the minimum of initial education prescribed by law and who are usually to be found among unskilled or semi-skilled workers in later life. There is a remarkable unanimity of conclusions between the surveys of student characteristics, and it is clear that people are, in this sense, attracted to adult education in inverse ratio to their need for it'—Simpson, op. cit., p. 56.
2. Evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference.
3. Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p. 8.
4. National Institute of Adult Education, *Adult Education—Adequacy of Provision*, 1970.

have no spare non-working time or that they are engrossed in a variety of leisure-time interests. Many of them command plenty of spare time but do not know how to use it creatively and frequently do not welcome the prospect of having still more of it. It is not always a straightforward desire for extra money that causes people to work long hours of overtime or to undertake more than one paid job, but an inability to use spare time purposefully. Personal intellectual enrichment—the pursuit of 'culture' (that central goal of many old-style adult education programmes)—is an objective which apparently has no appeal for great numbers of people.

Many factors may account for non-participation in educational programmes.[1] They may be grouped under three heads: personal, domestic and external. Personal factors may include fear of the unfamiliar, fear of ridicule, emotional insecurity, feelings of social inadequacy, dislike of schooling, negative attitudes to learning, lack of money, the uncertainty of future rewards, and mental and physical handicaps. Domestic factors may include difficulty in getting away from home, opposition of a member or members of the family and impossible conditions for study. External factors may include shift work, fatigue after work and lack of transport. Of these factors, the most important cluster around attitudes towards 'education', which is commonly equated with 'schooling', and towards school-teachers, who are commonly equated with all 'educators'. There is plentiful evidence that great numbers of young people continue to leave school feeling embittered or demoralized.

There are other reasons than a lack of motivation for non-participation in adult education. Facilities may not be available or be quite unsuitable. Many people who know precisely where to seek social and recreational opportunities do not know where to seek educational ones. Outside large cities, many adult education centres are inconveniently located. In nearly every country there is a geographical maldistribution of facilities, urban areas being by and large more richly endowed than rural areas. There are also manifest regional disparities.

The availability of suitable facilities is the crucial factor. Evidence shows that the introduction of an adult education programme into virgin territory almost invariably answers a suppressed demand, the mere presence of an agency stimulating participation. The timing and location of programmes[2] and the width of subjects on offer obviously determine who can and cannot participate. It is sufficient to compare the level of enrolments in any two cities which are more or less alike but which provide different aggregates and varieties of

1. There is far more empirical evidence about the characteristics and attitudes of participants than there is about those of non-participants. Most statements about non-participation are based on intuition.
2. See below p. 74-5.

programmes; almost invariably it is found that the level of adult education is almost directly proportionate to the scale of programme provision. In short, the potential incidence of participation in adult education, even in the existing types of programmes, only becomes evident when facilities are physically accessible to everyone and when no method of publicity has been overlooked in making the facilities widely known.

Some adults do not participate in organized educational activities either because they already lead full intellectual lives as serious readers, concert-goers or voluntary workers or because they choose to study alone or with an absolute minimum of external guidance. The phenomenon of 'independent learning' is discussed below.[1] Here it will suffice to point out that the incidence of independent learning in some countries[2] may be astonishingly high. Professor Allen Tough has estimated that in Canada.[3]

> About 70% of all learning projects are planned by the learner himself, who seeks help from a variety of acquaintances, experts and printed resources.

There must also be some significance in the vast number of non-fiction book issues reported by many libraries throughout the world.

Economic and even social privilege does not necessarily betoken a privileged educational background. Some people achieve material or social success without the advantage of much, if any, education. Equally, some people who start out with a good educational background and make no effort whatsoever in adult life to develop themselves intellectually, effortlessly retain a satisfying economic and social status. Current public concern is not with these two categories of non-participants but with those underprivileged for whom an improved social and economic status can be achieved only through some degree of educational achievement.

In the past it was claimed in some countries that to judge the success or failure of an adult education service by the percentage of the population engaged was to confound quantity with quality. What mattered was not how many people were participants but how good the work was and the extent of the influence that the select few wielded in the community at large. This claim had merit when the participants were clearly natural leaders but more often than not this was not so; many of the 'select few'—no discredit to them—were preoccupied with their own development and had no inclination

1. See page 113.
2. Beyond a very primitive level it is obviously difficult to learn independently in the absence of a plentiful supply of learning aids, particularly printed material. There is, accordingly, more independent learning in some countries than in others.
3. A. Tough, *The Adult's Learning Projects*, p. 1, Toronto, 1971.

to serve or influence others. And today the notion that by educating a few carefully chosen people societies can leaven the social lump is simply not tenable on practical, let alone ethical, grounds, except in certain small communities. The fact remains, of course, that mere numbers signify very little. What matters is how much real learning takes place through adult education programmes and this is largely an enigma.[1]

However, some sceptics advance another argument against becoming unduly obsessed with the non-participant phenomenon. It is that the essential property of adulthood is freedom to choose what is best for oneself. A man has the right not to participate in adult education! As soon as governments or educators embark on an all-out campaign to reduce non-participation they run the risk of infringing people's freedom. Let us face the harsh truth that some people want to learn and others do not and put an end to Utopian day-dreams.

In fact, the case of the sceptics is overborne by the sheer weight of the equity and public interest arguments in favour of expanding adult learning opportunities. The equity argument is being energetically canvassed by pressure groups on behalf of the educationally underprivileged. The public interest argument is politically more influential. This is that the collective as opposed to the individual requirements of society cannot be met unless participation in adult education becomes a majority phenomenon and, what is more, participation in appropriate programmes. The latter qualification must be recorded because so many existing adult education programmes, no matter how successful they may appear from the subjective view of providing institutions, are catering for an exceedingly narrow spectrum of needs. Before turning to the tantalizing problem of how unmet needs may be assessed it will be necessary to demonstrate why this is so.

The main difference between compulsory education and adult education is precisely that the first is compulsory and the second is not. For all practical purposes those at school form a captive audience: they are truly *in statu pupillari*. What they learn, when they learn and how they learn are decided for them by somebody else. By contrast, adults themselves decide what, when and how to learn. More important still, they choose whether or not they will learn at all. From this it follows that publicly maintained adult education institutions, or governments wishing to promote adult education on a mass scale, can do no more than offer opportunities for learning. They cannot guarantee that a large number of adults will take advantage of such opportunities and they certainly cannot ensure that designated groups will do so.

A public adult education institution is like a supermarket in

1. See the discussion of evaluation below, p. 104-5.

that it cannot be sure of the patronage of a sufficient number of people living in its catchment area to justify its existence and only by trial and error can it discover which of its products, that is, its courses and activities, will attract support. It is unlike a supermarket in that it can, if it so wishes and is not under pressure to break even financially, display not one or two but a number of products that are not in evident demand and devote a disproportionate amount of time and energy to promoting them. In other words, it can offer a few or many programmes not because they are popular but because they are considered socially desirable.

In practice the majority of adult education institutions—by no means only those under financial pressure—consistently offer programmes which they know to be in demand.[1] This reduces the tribulations of programme planning and can be justified on the grounds that expressed private demand is a reliable and democratic guide to what is needed whereas for an institution to decide what is good for people is not democratic practice but an insidious attempt at social control. Moreover, those who participate are often responsible taxpayers who know what they want and insist upon obtaining it.

Many public adult education institutions attempt to strike a balance between programmes of proven appeal and experimental programmes thought to be socially desirable. This is a reasonable compromise for there is a limit to the time, energy and resources that can be devoted to experimental programmes and for the sake of staff morale and its public credibility an institution must maintain a strong basic programme. That having been said, there is no moral justification for taking the easy way out. National governments and local government authorities have a duty to ensure that as many learning needs as possible are satisfied as equitably as possible. As we have seen, nearly all countries are committed in theory to the goal of equality of opportunity. This presupposes that they are willing to pursue active measures to remove barriers to participation and to encourage the maximum amount of public participation in adult education. In short, if they find that current programmes are attracting only a narrow band of the population and satisfying only a restricted number of needs, they should multiply those programmes and develop new types of programmes to satisfy unmet needs.

1. cf. P. Sheats, 'Present Trends and Future Strategies in Adult Education' in M. S. Knowles (ed.), *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, p. 554, Chicago, 1960. 'The marginality of adult education in the established institutional structure of our society has been ascribed in part to its "aimlessness", to its open-ended and opportunistic "service" approach, to its "cafeteria" offerings of whatever the public demands, to its policy of drift and the absence of goal-directedness. Educational objectives, when stated, are expressed in such general terms as to be meaningless or at least beyond the reach of scientific evaluation and measurement.'

To adopt an egalitarian policy in practice raises enormous problems. First, there is the question of how to determine priorities. In general, it can reasonably be forecast that very few countries will ever be able to finance an elastic public adult education service. If all adults in a given community asked to join an adult education programme, many of them would have to be rejected. And even if a country were to decide to meet each and every demand as it arises, it would have to build up an open and comprehensive service by gradual stages, that is, it would have to select short-term priorities.

In most countries the existing pattern of expressed demand for adult education is economically convenient since it makes only small inroads on scarce resources. If the demand were to be increased, then the total expenditure would have to be increased or the present resources would have to be redistributed. Thus, an extreme egalitarian argument might be propounded that the financially better off, who dominate current adult education programmes, should be left to fend for themselves; since they are already privileged, it is unnecessary to subsidize them; if they want more education let them make their own private arrangements. To accept this argument would be tantamount to jettisoning the greater part of existing programmes and with them the goodwill of people who exercise political influence and pay a significant amount in taxes, especially to the local public authorities. It would also be to accept a levelling down of standards. A more tenable strategy may be not to expend any more money on existing programmes but to devote all new resources to a systematic attempt to distribute facilities more evenly.[1]

In distributing resources more equitably, the first priority appears to be to ensure that learning facilities are widely accessible. At the present time, geographical areas in the gravest need often receive the shabbiest treatment. The reason is obvious: those areas sink that cannot help themselves. Barring a minor miracle, like the discovery in the vicinity of a valuable raw material, their situation steadily deteriorates unless help can be procured from outside. Whether they secure outside help or not depends upon the will of government. And here lies the crux. Governments are wont to respond to pressure and pressure is precisely what deprived areas do not know how to apply.[2] Furthermore, officials, organizers and teachers usually choose to live and work where the surroundings are congenial. It is not therefo

1. The question of financial allocations is discussed further below, p. 180-1.
2. An ICED team has noted this truth with regard to some rural areas in developing countries: ICED, *Building New Educational Strategies to Serve Rural Children and Youth*, p. 101, 1974 (hereinafter referred to as ICED)—'A related basic cause has been the political voicelessness of most rural people—their lack of realisation of their own inherent power to seek justice and improvement in their own lives, and their lack of organizations through which to express themselves and help themselves.'

surprising that many areas are richly endowed with educational resources of which other areas are entirely devoid.

Certain individual and communal learning needs are prevalent throughout society. But what is a priority need for one area is seldom a priority for all areas. The disparity of needs between areas is especially true of rural vis-à-vis urban populations:[1]

> Regardless of one's political orientation, it is clear that the centralized planning apparatus in most countries simply cannot develop effective programmes for diverse rural populations. We are hopeful, therefore, that rural communities will be increasingly responsible for shaping some of their own educational programmes and will be allowed to play a greater role in helping to make those decisions that are vital to their future.

An ICED team arrived at the same conclusion.[2]

> The dominance of an educational approach that has placed too much emphasis on form and mechanics and not enough on substance and process, and that has overestimated the wisdom and power of outside expertise and underestimated the intelligences of rural people themselves and the primary role they must play in improving their own lives.

The elasticity of individual adult learning needs and the fact that communal needs necessarily vary according to local circumstances, including the very size of the population,[3] mean that they must be singled out and catered for at the local level. So we face a paradox. Adult education cannot flourish without some central planning and control together with a good deal of support from central funds but it has to be tailored to actual local needs and not to assumed general needs.

The problem is not only to identify prevailing needs but to anticipate changes in the social and physical environment that are bound to create new needs. At the present time, needs are identified, if they are identified at all, only when they have become acute. At the national level a unit ought accordingly to be given responsibility for studying social and economic indicators, and at the local level a unit or a qualified social scientist is required to carry out a similar function. Meanwhile, a public authority responsible for educational services or a providing institution cannot shirk the task of formulating criteria for the diagnosis of need. To lessen its task it can apply two

1. Foster and Sheffield, op. cit., p. 11.
2. ICED, op. cit., p. 46.
3. In a study carried out in the United Kingdom in the fifties it was found that: '. . . the volume of adult education provision possible in an area is very largely conditioned by the size of its population. This is so because, with exceptions to be noted shortly, the percentage of the population attending adult classes at any one time varies from place to place only within very narrow limits.'— J. P. Gould, *The Recruitment of Adult Students*, p. 1, Leicester, 1959.

useful distinctions—one between individual and group or community needs, the other between felt or articulated needs and latent needs.

As regards the first distinction, it is for a public authority or an institution to decide whether to accord priority to collective or individual needs. It is theoretically possible, of course, to weigh the balance neither on one side nor the other. The core of the problem is how to identify and diagnose need. As already pointed out, there is no problem if sole reliance is placed on the market demand. But if there is a determination to serve those individuals and social groups in most pressing need, then no alternative remains but to set out on the long, hard road of methodical inquiry. In instituting such an inquiry two related questions immediately arise. First, on what grounds is need to be specified? Secondly, since there are numerous educational needs and not all of them can be satisfied, according to what criteria should a list of priorities be constructed? The answer to both questions is that providers must make value judgements. They cannot escape placing a value on what they consider worth wanting. In short, degrees of need have to be determined with reference to a particular social philosophy.

There is then the problem that what providers adjudge to be needs, or what experts consider needs, looking at a given community in its totality, may not be needs felt by individual constituents or groups within the constituency. Far from it: their constituents may express wants that providers regard as undesirable or not urgent. Such a conflict cannot be resolved by fiat but only by consultation, which may prove difficult if not impossible to engage in and will have to end in compromise.

Another problem is that demands within a community or as between communities may well conflict. Sociologists have pointed out that there are very few truly [illegible]ogeneous communities and that no two communities are e[illegible]iar. Again, there is no way out but to engage in consultatio[illegible] hope of reconciling contradictory interests.

There is also the problem that the mere expression of need may have little significance. A person may say that he wants a specific kind of learning experience but not be seriously motivated or may really want a quite different kind of experience. Many adult education institutions continually have the frustrating experience of seemingly identifying, through market research, a large clientele for a particular programme or programmes only to find that the actual response is dismal.

Finally, there is the problem that so many educational needs can be satisfied only if other concomitant social and economic needs are satisfied either beforehand or simultaneously. Thus, a mother with a low income and several small children may be able to profit

from group instruction on child care only if she is given a hot meal before each meeting and if someone is found to look after her children. In any case, poor people do not as a rule atomize their needs but they may accept that in order to alleviate their poverty it is necessary, among other things, to obtain information or acquire a skill—in other words, to learn something. This interdependence of educational and other factors implies that the process of diagnosing and meeting need entails close collaboration between educational and other social service agencies.

No provider of adult education is likely to deny that the range of adult learning needs is extensive and that each person has a unique set of needs. Yet in operational practice, as already pointed out, programmes normally appeal to a truncated section of society and offer a narrow spectrum of subjects and learning situations. They are very seldom induced from a systematic diagnostic survey of the relevant constituency. One explanation for this omission appears to be that programme directors do not know on what grounds or by what methods to identify learning needs in general and the needs of particular groups. In fact, some of the findings and concepts derived from psychological research on adult learning ability and motivation are most illuminating, notably the concept of developmental tasks and the life cycle.

The psychology of adult learning was a neglected subject of investigation until very recently. Educational psychologists showed no interest in it and neither public authorities nor employers nor foundations saw much point in commissioning research projects. The result is that today we have very little data available as compared with the wealth of data on child development, and present research activity is confined to a few countries.

The United States is one country in which a trickle of research on the psychology of adult learning dates from an earlier period.[1] Initially, in the twenties, the object of this research was to establish whether or not learning ability was a wasting asset after physical maturity had been attained. Was there a rapid or slow process of atrophy or no atrophy at all? A second area of research interest was opened up in the fifties by R. J. Havighurst, who observed that the motivation to learn and the subjects considered worth learning depended on two factors: first the stage that has been reached in the cycle of life and, secondly, the social roles that one is required to play. To want to find out more about the effects of ageing upon the adult personality is not an esoteric research pursuit. On the contrary, the introduction of truly effective systems of adult education depends

1. See E. de S. Brunner *et al.*, *An Overview of Adult Education Research*, Washington, D.C., 1959; see also R. G. Kuhlen (ed.), *Psychological Backgrounds of Adult Education*, Boston, Mass., Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults 1962 (Notes and Essays, No. 40).

upon knowing how adults learn and what conditions best facilitate the learning process.

The various studies undertaken in the United States have produced some invaluable findings about the learning ability of adults. In the first place, it appears that intelligence does not automatically decline with age. For example, two psychologists, Owens and Charles, working with a group of adults aged 61 who had taken the Army Alpha Intelligence Test at the age of 20 or so, retested them, and found that they performed just as well except when obliged to use numerical skills.[1] Other longitudinal studies have shown that adults first tested over the age of 50 perform equally well when tested after an interval of ten years. In the aggregate, the studies indicate that the speed of response slows down, the ability to solve problems gradually deteriorates and the motor skills decline, but that verbal fluency and comprehension may well increase. One crucial finding to emerge is that the higher the initial level of educational attainment, the greater the correlation with subsequent performances at different ages. People with low educational attainment who perform routine jobs fall victim to mental atrophy.[2] The moral appears to be that learning ability is retained through regular exercise.

A key factor in the attitude of adults towards learning is whether or not they are capable of changing their habits and attitudes. Here the empirical evidence indicates that adults are not consistently inflexible but vary in their disposition to change according to the nature of the task set before them. Provided that a task is clearly formulated, that they are assured of having opportunities to check and remedy errors and that they can pace themselves, older people perform as well as young people.[3] Furthermore, resistance to change may sometimes be an advantage in that it is a safeguard against impulsive actions. One general finding of considerable importance for educational practice is that adults of low applied intelligence are more resistant to change than those of higher intelligence.

The impression that adults cannot learn or that at best intelligence steadily deteriorates with age is longstanding and due not only to the erroneous assumption of those in authority but to the negative attitude towards learning adopted by many adults themselves. There appears to be a particular loss of self-confidence during the third age, an age which is reached at different stages according to cultural conditioning. One reason for this lack of self-confidence is that adults are normally expected to learn under the same conditions and at the same speed as young people and find it hard to compete. In fact, if

1. W. A. Owens and D. C. Charles, *Life History Correlates of Age Changes in Mental Abilities*, Purdue University, 1963.
2. ibid.
3. J. Botwinick and J. G. Brinley, 'Aspects of RT Set During Brief Intervals in Relation to Age and Sex', *Journal of Gerontology*, No. 17, July 1962, p. 295–301.

adults are allowed to pace themselves[1] they can learn faster than under external direction, although self-pacing does not increase the speed at which young people learn. In the most up-to-date and far-ranging discussion of research into adult learning A. M. Hubermann has stated:[2]

> In sum, what adults lose in maturational decline is compensated by impact from the environment. What is lost in reasoning, speed and perception is gained in experience, knowledge and wisdom—provided, of course, that mental stimulation is constant. We can also assume that motivational factors play a role here; adults will continue to learn if they are able to concentrate their learning in areas of experience in which their personal interests lie as well.

It is self-evident that adults differ from one another to a significant extent. What is not generally known is that the differences increase with age, not least in the range of intellectual ability. After surveying the literature on the psychology of adult education H. Y. McClusky concluded that accumulating data:[3]

> . . . are providing a growing case for a differential psychology of adults. Already it is clear that the pattern of abilities increases in difference from adolescence, through early adulthood and on into the middle and later years. Moreover, we cannot assure equivalences of stimulation and motivation in these successive stages of change.

The findings of systematic inquiries into the psychology of adults obviously have important implications for educational practice. The evidence about changes in ability with ageing is especially significant in view of the marked tendency for participation in adult education to decline more or less precipitately after adults have reached an age somewhere between 40 and 50. Now we know that the reason is not that adults cannot learn but that they are conditioned to feel that active learning is beyond their capacity.

For educational practice the most valuable contribution of investigations into the adult phase of life has come from the school of

1. See: R. E. Canestrati, 'Paced and Self-Paced Learning of Young and Elderly Adults', *Journal of Gerontology*, No. 18, April 1962, p. 165–8.
2. A. M. Huberman, *Permanent Education: Some Models of Adult Learning and Change*, p. 24, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1974. See also: R. M. Belbin, 'The Biological Background to Adult Learning', *Explorations in Adult Learning and Training for Adult Education*, p. 20, 1970: 'Our review has suggested that some losses in learning ability may occur from an early age and that progressive losses may have a physical basis. On the other hand, searching, exploring, testing and applying may be forms of learning that do not reach full maturity until late in adulthood. If we are to see a progressive growth in further education and industrial retraining we shall need to take account of the style of learning that is natural for adults.'
3. H. Y. McClusky, 'The Psychology of Adults' (unpublished).

ego psychologists who argue that the adult personality is not fixed in a mould at maturity but continues to undergo considerable changes throughout the rest of life. Life can be viewed as a cyclical process which at any one time calls into play a combination of factors that govern or inspire motivation and action. R. J. Havighurst calls these factors 'dominant concerns'[1] and summarizes them relative to each age period as follows: (a) 0–10, coming into independent existence; (b) 10–20, becoming a person in one's life; (c) 20–30, focusing one's life; (d) 30–40, collecting one's energies; (e) 40–50, exerting and asserting oneself; (f) 50–60, maintaining position and changing roles; (g) 60–70, deciding whether to disengage and how; (h) 70–80, making the most of disengagement.

Precisely when each of these periods arrives and passes depends on the social group to which one belongs and may be influenced by other factors. The scheme does not apply to people who are 'anomic and marginal to the society'. Moreover, the scheme applies specifically to American society and would require to be modified for other countries. The basic concept of dominant concerns and the life cycle, however, is universally valid as can be demonstrated by the correlation between these dominant concerns and the educational activities in which adults of indifferent age groups actually choose to engage.

As an adult progresses through life he must necessarily change his roles and hence his aspirations. These roles are described as 'developmental tasks', which Havighurst summarizes as follows:[2]

Early adulthood: (a) selecting a mate; (b) learning to live with a marriage partner; (c) starting a family; (d) rearing children; (e) managing a home; (f) getting started in an occupation; (g) taking on civic responsibility; (h) finding a congenital social group.

Middle age: (a) achieving adult civic and social responsibility; (b) establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living; (c) assisting teen-age children to become responsible and happy adults; (d) developing adult leisure-time activities; (e) relating oneself to one's spouse as a person; (f) accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age; (g) adjusting to ageing parents.

1. cf. R. J. Havighurst, 'Dominant Concerns and the Life Cycle', in H. W. Burns (ed.), *Sociological Backgrounds of Adult Education*, p. 26, Boston, CSLEA, 1967 (Notes and Essays, No. 41). A dominant concern is the result of the interaction of a developing human organism with the ego in a specific situation. The individual, at a given point of physical and mental maturation, expects himself and is expected by the social group or groups in which he lives to behave in a certain manner, and his physical condition helps to determine what these expectations will be.
2. See R. J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, p. 257–82, New York, 1953. See also Havighurst, in Burns (ed.), op. cit., p. 25–36; B. Neugarten, 'Continuities and Discontinuities of Psychological Issues into Adult Life', *Human Development*, No. 12, 1962, p. 121–30; H. S. Becker, 'Personal Change in Adult Life', *Sociometry*, Vol. 27, No. 1, March 1964.

Later maturity: (a) adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health; (b) adjusting to retirement and reduced income; (c) adjusting to death of spouse; (d) establishing an explicit affiliation with one's age group; (e) meeting social and civic obligations; (f) establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements.

An adult is motivated into participating in an organized learning activity if he thinks it will help him solve a personal, social or vocational problem or make him feel happy. Thus, the learning experiences that he may be inspired to seek will reflect his 'dominant concerns' and accordingly vary with the dictates of his particular age.

People's motives for participating in an organized learning experience are numerous and overlapping. In the most comprehensive and scientific national survey of participation in adult education ever to be undertaken, Johnstone and Rivera discovered that in the United States the main motives were as follows:[1] (a) to become better informed; (b) to prepare for a new job; (c) to obtain on-the-job training; (d) to spend leisure time in an enjoyable and rewarding way; (e) to meet new and interesting people; (f) to become more efficient in carrying out tasks and duties either in the home or elsewhere; (g) to escape from routine; (h) to improve and understand job, home or family life roles; (i) to improve skills; (j) to increase general knowledge; (k) to increase income; (l) to develop personality and to improve inter-personal relations; (m) to develop some physical attribute or attributes.

That list of motives is more or less similar to lists completed in different societies throughout the world. The motives can be grouped under three main categories: vocational; personal development; social relationships. Now if we take these three categories of motives and relate them to the dominant concerns of the life cycle we have an invaluable formula for determining adult education needs.

The category of vocational motives has a particularly strong influence on young people between 18 and 40, more specifically on men, especially young fathers. The majority of this age group attends adult education courses for the purpose of preparing for employment or upgrading themselves or switching to another job. At this stage, participation is largely enforced by the realization that to enjoy a good life in the future it is imperative to become well qualified in the present. Having found his occupational niche the man of 30 or so seeks advancement both in salary and status. Often the search impels him to return to 'education'. Maybe, also, his employers expect him to undertake further training or he himself is fearful of becoming stale. Women whose children have reached the age of maturity evince strong interest in vocational courses because of their desire to find a job. Until enforced retirement or withdrawal from active labour

1. Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p. 143.

draws near, a person may perodically have vocational motives for seeking education. That having been said, however, the drive for occupational proficiency plainly diminishes with the passage of time and disappears altogether when a man is reaching the end of his career.

Personal development is a broad category and affects almost everyone's motive for participation. At the same time, those whose exclusive or at least overriding aim is personal development—a concern to become more cultivated or better informed about human affairs—tend to be aged over 40, of an age, that is, when they have more leisure and fewer financial cares. Women, in particular, often face a life of boredom when their children are able to fend for themselves, which partly explains why middle-aged women are so predominant in adult classes. Having been confined to domestic chores for ten to twenty years a woman may come to deplore the inadequacy of her general knowledge. She may also feel out of touch with the society in which her husband moves through his work. Moreover, in an age when the personality factor is constantly stressed, she may want to engage in an educational activity as a way to enhancing her impact upon others. Men are probably less affected by personal factors than women and the influence of the personal development factor tends to exert itself upon them at a later age. At the age of 50 or thereabouts men may start to attend adult education classes in the hope of self-enhancement. Before or after retirement they may also want to learn a skill or to cultivate new intellectual interests in order to be able to occupy their leisure time rewardingly. Evidence shows that young adults of a high socio-economic status and advanced educational background are prominent among those who participate in adult education for the sake of acquiring further knowledge or developing particular skills. Many young married women eagerly seek information about home and family living, child care or matters related to their husbands' work.

The social factor accounts for a good deal of participation in adult education in the non-vocational sector. Many individuals hope to make social contacts by attending adult education courses and participants of all ages are often simply interested in meeting other people. Some people engage in educational activities in response to external pressures; thus, a few members of a social group may attend a course and the rest may feel constrained to attend as the price of retaining status. Again, one of the ways in which an individual can raise his social status in a given community, or even maintain it, may be to participate in approved activities such as attending group discussion classes.

The concept of developmental tasks and the life cycle is invaluable as a guide to understanding the basic learning needs and motivations of adults and to differentiating them according to the criterion of age. For operational purposes, however, public authorities and programme directors require further aids to programme planning.

One formula is first to classify educational programmes according to the individual needs that they attempt to satisfy and to ensure that the correct balance is struck in each community setting; secondly, to divide the particular constituency into target or subgroups related to a hierarchy of needs—such subgroups might be large, for example, illiterates or small, for example, women shift-workers in factories.[1]

The following classification of educational programmes according to personal needs, which has been widely invoked, is relevant in most circumstances:[2]

1. Remedial education: fundamental and literacy education—a prerequisite for all other kinds of adult education.
2. Education for vocational technical and professional competence —this may be to prepare an adult for a first job or a new job or to keep him up to date on new developments in his occupation or profession.
3. Education for health, welfare and family living—including all kinds of health, family, consumer, planned-parenthood, hygiene, family relations, child-care, etc.
4. Education for civic, political and community competence—including all kinds of educational programmes about government, community development, public and international affairs, voting and political education, etc.
5. Education for self-fulfilment—including all kinds of liberal educational programmes, education in music, the arts, dance, theatre, literature, arts and crafts, whether brief or long-term. All programmes which are aimed primarily at learning for the sake of learning rather than to achieve the other aims included in the four other categories included above.

It may be argued that all these five categories of programme are equally important and indeed that the first four are mutually interdependent. In practical terms, however, they represent a descending order of priorities,[3] although there will be many communities with a high average educational level which can afford to treat programmes 1, 3 and 4 as less essential than 2 and 5.[4]

1. 'For effective planning of non-formal education the population will have to be divided into various functional subgroups, each with its particular development roles and learning needs. The same educational programme cannot fit them all; there must be a series of co-ordinated programmes, each with its own well-tailored objectives'—P. H. Coombs, *The Planning of Non-formal Education: Some Initial Thoughts*, p. 8, Paris, Unesco, 1972.
2. Liveright and Haygood, op. cit., p. 9.
3. Maslow has pointed out that higher needs cannot be satisfied until lower needs have been satisfied.—A. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality Change*, New York, 1970.
4. cf. C. Verner and A. Booth, *Adult Education*, p. 53, New York, 1973: 'Sociological analyses of local community conditions provide ways of identifying social needs. Thus an analysis of the educational population which shows a very high level of functional illiteracy is an indication of the need for fundamental education. If the population with less than high-school education is high, then there is a need for high-school equivalent.'

There is scant evidence that the findings derived from research into the psychology of adult learning are filtering through to administrators and practitioners, except for some small influence on teaching methods, or that the principle of beaming programmes at carefully defined target groups is being applied. This is most unfortunate and accounts for some of the criticism levelled against the narrow appeal of many adult education programmes. For as long as programmes are directed at articulated needs as opposed to needs systematically diagnosed, so long will they reinforce the educational gaps at present existing between social groups. In the next chapter we shall consider the problem of meeting unmet needs.

Chapter 3

Unmet needs and target groups

To judge from the contemporary outpouring of official statements and conference reports, the main concern of adult education should be to meet the needs of those whose lack of initial education denies them access to further education, a satisfactory job and a reasonable income. Despite this concern, the effect of adult education programmes is often to widen the margin between social groups that already exists when people leave school. This paradox is not new [1] but more and more widely recognized as an intractable and universal problem. Recent setbacks in a number of countries show that the goal of equality of educational opportunity is extremely difficult to achieve. The mere expansion of opportunities is certainly far from being the answer. The experience of many countries, regardless of their stage of development, indicates that in the absence of discriminatory measures in favour of the less privileged, it is the more or less privileged who gain the most advantage from education. This was true in the past of the expansion of secondary education in Western societies and it has been proved no less true of the rapid expansion of higher education during recent years.

Throughout the Tokyo Conference the problem of how to reach and serve the non-participants who often most need help recurred as a *leit-motiv* and was highlighted in the concluding paragraphs of the *Final Report:* [2]

1. cf. R. H. Tawney, *The Radical Tradition*, p. 92, London, 1964: '. . . our primary mission, proclaimed from hundreds of platforms and in scores of pamphlets, is to the educationally underprivileged majority, who cease their full-time education at or about fifteen, and who need a humane education both for their personal happiness and to help them to mould the society in which they live.'
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 19.

The widening gap between nations, groups and individuals constitutes the greatest moral challenge of our time. To close the gap is more than a question of social justice. In an era of ever-growing interdependence between countries and of increasing human wants, it is an economic imperative and a precondition of world peace.

This inequality is due also to the unequal distribution of knowledge. But it cannot be solved simply by enlarging existing educational facilities. Experience shows that the provision of more education in most communities tends to favour most the already well educated; the educationally underprivileged have yet to claim their rights. Adult education is no exception to the rule, for those adults who most need education have been largely neglected—*they are the forgotten people.*

Thus the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people.

Irrespective of their political ideologies, technologically advanced and industrially retarded countries alike testified at Tokyo that the majority of their populations did not participate even in non-formal adult education programmes and that a substantial minority of these comprised the culturally, socially and economically deprived.

Concern about the deprived minority is inspired not only by the desire for social justice but by practical considerations. Large sums of money may have to be expended on social welfare that is at best remedial. Income from taxation is lost when adults cannot work at full capacity or work at all. Inactivity and social frustration can lead to violence and crime.[1] Sometimes the underprivileged may become so discontented and restless as to present a threat to political stability. Nor is the concern at all patronizing for many communities that are poor have a rich cultural inheritance. Attempts to help the children of the underprivileged are aborted. This is an enormously important consideration that has been insufficiently stressed. Children who perform badly at school are more often than not those who come from poor homes. Their parents are unable to give them advice or to help them with their studies; they eschew contact with the teachers either because they identify them with a hostile institution or because they do not know, or think they do not know, how to communicate with them; they do not ensure that their children have the home support which is essential for study. The education given at schools concentrates on cognitive skills and neglects the affective factor. Thus, from a tender age the socially disadvantaged, unintellectual, uncompetitive child is often left hopelessly behind in the academic

1. cf. S. Andreski, *The African Predicament*, p. 45, London, 1969: 'No subtle psychological explanations are needed to account for the prevalence of crimes against property in our cities where so many people have no other means of making a living.'

race. The parents of such children will not be able to become supportive in the way that is required until their inhibitions about making contact with the school have been removed and until they can see for themselves that they must help their children in specific ways. President Nyerere, with his gift for a telling illustration, has written:[1]

> Too often in our own society a person who sits down to read is accused of being lazy or of being unsociable. This attitude we must change. When we get to the position where a man and wife can sit together in the evening each reading or reading to each other, and when their children are encouraged to learn out of school by reading books, which are easily available, then we shall have made a big break-through in our development.

In some countries with a long record of compulsory education there is a tendency to assume that the more intelligent people have been creamed off, leaving behind a *lumpenproletariat* which cannot derive much, if any, advantage from education beyond the most elementary level. The empirical evidence for this belief is slight and of doubtful validity. Certainly there remains a very large untapped pool of ability among those who have left school at an early age.[2] A number of research studies have demonstrated that the academic performance of children from poor homes who showed themselves academically promising at an early age steadily declines the longer they stay at school, adverse external influences on their learning behaviour proving too strong to be resisted and causing them to work well below their capabilities. What such children require is more not less schooling and yet society reinforces academic success and penalizes early under-achievement by giving those who are the slowest to learn the least time to learn. A poor performance at school is often the result of such factors as the complete absence of parental guidance, overcrowded classes, incompetent teaching, lack of nutrition and above all an inability to express orally or in writing what they feel. After school their need is for make-up programmes so designed as to take account of their emotional fears of education.

From some of the discussions and writings about the problem of educationally underprivileged adults it might appear that a whole social class is in question. To equate the underprivileged with the working class is not only politically tendentious but inaccurate for many workers enjoy a comfortable standard of living and have quite

1. J. K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru Na Ujamaa*, p. 108, Dar es Salaam, 1968.
2. cf. Ministry of Education, England and Wales, *15-18*, vol. 1, p. 391, London, 1959: 'An observer of English education can hardly fail to be disturbed by the large number of able boys and girls who lose their intellectual curiosity before they have exhausted their capacity to learn.' This report also estimated that 42 per cent of pupils in the top 10 per cent of ability left school as soon as possible.

sufficient education to enjoy a reasonably full life. People who are truly underprivileged suffer from a number of crippling disadvantages that are mutually reinforcing. They are compelled to accept low-skill jobs and are vulnerable to unemployment; they may never earn a living wage or may experience relative prosperity only during fleeting periods in the life cycle; they are likely to be socially and geographically immobile; they do not know how to organize themselves for political action; they lack the capacity for formal thought and problem-solving; they have limited possibilities for recreation and lack creative imagination. Education alone will not change their lives but it is an indispensable instrument of change, for without a basis of knowledge people cannot adopt a new style of life.[1] The challenge facing adult education is to motivate people to learn how to cope more effectively with their multiple disadvantages and to persevere with learning.

The educationally disadvantaged fall into two main categories: first, those disadvantaged by social, economic, family or geographical circumstances; secondly, those mentally or physically handicapped. It is to be noted that one disadvantage is usually accompanied by others. The first group is by far the more numerous, particularly in developing countries. It includes: (a) the illiterate; (b) the rural poor; (c) the urban poor; (d) unemployed youths without marketable skills; (e) unskilled and semi-skilled workers; (f) unemployed and unemployable adult workers; (g) certain categories of women; (h) ethnic minorities; (i) migrant workers (national migrants); (j) immigrants (foreign workers); (k) the elderly poor, especially those in need of less strenuous work situations.

The physically or mentally handicapped include the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the paraplegic, the chronic invalid, the house-bound invalid and the long-term hospital patient.[2]

For many countries, representing in total by far the majority of the world's population, the first target group is the illiterate. Some warnings have been uttered about overrating literacy as a prerequisite of development. For example:[3]

1. cf. H. Becker, 'Education for Adults and Workers Today', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 5, No. 1, February 1969, p. 10: 'In an extensive study on education and social consciousness (*Bildung und, gesellschaftliches Bewusstein*) Strzelewicz and Schulenberg have clearly shown that people who receive only a minimal education experience a high degree of frustration. This same study shows that a fairly high level of education is necessary before a desire for further education can ever begin to develop.'
2. For two authoritative analyses of the characteristics and problems of the educationally underprivileged, see: P. Clyne, *The Disadvantaged Adult: Educational and Social Needs of Minority Groups*, London, 1972; and D. Andersen and J. A. Niemi, *Adult Education and the Disadvantaged Adult*, Syracuse, 1969.
3. M. Blaug, *The Role of Education in Enlarging the Exchange Economy in Middle Africa: the English-speaking Countries*, p. 25, Unesco, 1967.

> . . . the zeal of some educationists has created the unfortunate impression that everything in Africa depends on the growth of literacy and general knowledge, and that nothing can be done until the level of education has been raised.

Certainly the message that literacy alone will not guarantee economic prosperity has been hammered home in many societies by the plight of young people who have successfully completed the primary and even secondary school cycle only to find themselves condemned to unemployment or unskilled jobs. The fact remains that, apart from ethical considerations,[1] every developing country is wedded to the belief that illiteracy is an impediment to the modernization of a nation.

> In most developing countries, however, effective participation of adults in the building of their own societies is difficult if not impossible because of mass illiteracy which constitutes a major handicap to the communication of ideas and symbols. The implementation of other programmes of continuing adult education, which is a pre-requisite for the process of modernization, is also often impeded or rendered impossible because of the inability of illiterate adults to participate. For these and other reasons, the reduction of illiteracy is one of the major priorities of adult education in developing countries.[2]

There would appear to be sufficient empirical evidence to sustain this belief. Recently in India a controlled experiment was carried out to distinguish between the receptivity to change of illiterate farmers on the one hand and farmers who had taken part in an experimental literacy project on the other hand. According to the Ministry of Education's report, published in 1971:[3]

> The rate of final adoption of agricultural practices among the participants and control groups and its relationship to literacy ability indicated that the rate of adoption among the functional literates and the control illiterates tended to vary directly with literacy level. For instance, over 90 per cent of the participants

1. cf. Eve Malmquist, 'Reading: A Human Right and a Human Problem', in R. C. Staiger and O. Andersen (eds.), *Reading: A Human Right and a Human Problem*, p. 2, Newark, 1969: 'The person living in the the twentieth century who has not been given the opportunity to learn to read cannot function in a proper way, cannot have a full human individual and social life. He is deprived of a fundamental human right to gain further education, to gain access to one of the most invaluable instruments for learning. It has been said: "Learning is living and living is learning!" In a real sense, therefore, the ability to read is an indispensable element in a person's equipment for living in every corner of the world today.'
2. J. Müller (ed.), *Functional Literacy in the Context of Adult Education*, p. 149, Berlin, 1974.
3. Quoted by Amrik Singh, 'Adult Education and the School System in India' (unpublished paper prepared for Unesco).

> in the high literacy category were using seed of recommended varieties compared to 81.8 per cent in the medium and 74.1 per cent in the low. . . . Particularly important is that the high literacy ability group had an adoption rate of nearly double that of the illiterate group. This phenomenon is even more important for fertilizers, implements and insecticides. For example, the rate of adoption of improved implements for those in the high literacy ability category was approximately eight times that of the control illiterates.

The magnitude of the illiteracy problem is awesome. According to Unesco estimates, the world in 1950 had some 700 million illiterates in an adult population of 1,579 million; in 1960, 740 million out of 1,881 million adults were illiterates; it was estimated that in 1970 some 783 million out of 2,287 million adults were still illiterate, either because they had never had an opportunity to attend school or because they had relapsed into illiteracy. The recent figures underline two facts: first, that there remains a substantial number of illiterates in the second half of this century; secondly, that there is a constant increase in the total number of illiterates. Even on the most optimistic of assumptions the number of illiterates will not fall below the 650 million mark by the year 2000. On the other hand, the illiteracy rate is falling steadily, thanks to the extension of primary education and adult literacy programmes; the most optimistic assumption about the number of illiterates by the year 2000 would mean an adult illiteracy rate of 15 per cent of the world's population.[1]

To indicate the crisis faced at present in many countries, it is salutary to consult statistics relating to India. In 1961, the total number of illiterates was estimated at 295 million. By 1969 the total had risen to 349 million; only 13 per cent of the female population was literate. Although the percentage of illiterates in the crucial manpower group aged 15–44 declined from 65 per cent in 1961 to 65 per cent in 1969, the total number of illiterates went up from 130 million to 150 million. A survey conducted in 1966 led to the conclusion that:[2]

> . . . the bulk of the working force in the country will remain in the same state of illiteracy in the next twenty years as at present and will require at least another twenty years for achieving 100 per cent literacy of the census level, if the present conditions are to continue indefinitely in future.

Is it any wonder that the abolition or at least drastic reduction of illiteracy is the first priority in the adult education programmes of India and many other countries?[3]

1. Unesco, *Literacy 1967–71*, Paris, Unesco, 1972.
2. K. B. Rege, *Magnitude of Illiteracy in India*, p. 19, New Delhi, 1966.
3. Methods of dealing with the literacy problem are discussed below, pages 92-6.

Until recently it was commonly supposed that adult illiteracy was a problem confined to the developing countries. Today it is clear that adult illiteracy is also a serious problem in most industrialized countries. Estimates indicate that in several highly prosperous countries the illiteracy rate may be as high as 15 per cent. Not only the poor and the unskilled are among the illiterate but also skilled workers and not infrequently the rich and apparently successful. The plight of the illiterate in a lettered society can be particularly cruel. Many accounts have been published in recent years of seemingly competent workers driven to distraction by the stress of pretending that they can read and write. There are also many more than 15 per cent of some national populations whose reading and writing skills are minimal and whose personality development is thereby stunted:[1]

> Modern research is beginning to find evidence for what has often been intuitively recognised, namely that the more flexible and wide-ranging a person's language is, the richer is likely to be the quality of his life. Conversely, the more restricted and limited his language, the more restricted and limited may be his life.

Since 1960 or thereabouts there has been a deepening realization that literacy is a means to a better living and not an end in itself. Not only will the neo-literate lapse into illiteracy in the absence of opportunities for regular reading and writing but he will become depressed if he cannot function more effectively as a worker. The right to work and to obtain satisfaction from work is becoming progressively more contingent upon having the appropriate skills and capacity for adaptation to ever-changing conditions. But in all countries, whether rich or poor, there are many physically active adults who through a lack of education are either unemployed, under-employed or doomed to perform unpleasant jobs without any prospect of advancement. All three conditions are demoralizing and extremely difficult to improve—especially for adults over 50. Remedial action is certainly not possible unless appropriate training facilities are made available and there are strong inducements to take advantage of them.[2] In the rural areas of developing countries it is obviously necessary to create self-employment opportunities through appropriate vocational preparation.

At present roughly 2,000 million people live in developing countries and of these an average of 70 per cent inhabit rural areas. In several countries no less than 90 per cent of the population is classed as rural. But in general, rural populations are victims of neglect, often to the advantage of urban areas:[3]

1. J. F. Wallwork, *Linguistics and Language*, p. 11–12, London, 1969.
2. cf. M. Blaug, *Education and the Employment Problem in Developing Countries*, p. 74, Geneva, ILO, 1973.
3. ECA Secretariat, *Africa's Manpower Situation and Prospects in the 1970*, p. 4, Addis Ababa, 1973.

> The mass of the population in virtually all African countries is located in the rural areas, yet most of the benefits of development in terms of better incomes and better living facilities, have so far accrued to the urban communities.

Rural areas are doubly disadvantaged in educational terms. First, they lack the general cultural and educative influences which often serve to stimulate, inform and enrich life in urban areas. Secondly, they lack explicit educational programmes designed to assist the process of modernization. Their difficulties are compounded by the fact that the young and energetic, frustrated by the lack of opportunity, quit the land for the cities.

At least rural development is now treated as a top priority in developing countries. In more developed countries, however, it is often assumed that, since this is a mobile age, there is no particular need to single out rural areas for attention.[1] The result is that in otherwise prosperous countries there are rural pockets where people live on or near the breadline utterly deprived of educational facilities.

Virtually every urban centre in the world, without regard to the stage of national development,[2] has to deal with the needs of a steadily increasing subculture of deprived people. The problem mainly arises from the rapid speed of urban settlement. Thus, whereas in 1940 there were only four cities in Latin America with a population of over 1 million, by 1980 there will be twenty-eight such cities.[3] There are two types of depressed urban communities: the old and the new. The first type is often found in or near the urban centre and evinces all the signs of decay. The sense of community has been diminished or totally destroyed; there is a high proportion of ethnic minorities and recent immigrants, of the unemployed and of the infirm and elderly. The new community may be a shanty development, haphazardly sprung up on the outskirts of a town,[4] or a publicly planned housing area designed for the lowest socio-economic groups. In such commu-

1. For example: 'More than half the adult education institutions in France are located in towns with a population of more than 100,000 inhabitants. Yet these towns constitute only 0.1 per cent of the communes and eighteen per cent of the population.' (Evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference.) cf. Also B. Hall, 'Who Participates in Adult Education?', *Studies in Adult Education*, No. 5, February 1973, p. 3: 'In Tanzania, for example, only 24 per cent of the participants interviewed were brought up in isolated rural environments.'
2. cf. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 22: 'Industrial society was witnessing the emergence of a twilight world composed of the old, social misfits or migrant workers; whole areas were, economically speaking, being sacrificed to the principle of return on investment by the profit-oriented economy, and thus found themselves with problems comparable with those of developing countries.'
3. United Nations, *Social Change and Social Development Policy in Latin America*, New York, 1970.
4. As high as 40 per cent of the population of the cities in Latin America may be living in such marginal areas.

nities there is almost no spontaneous drive to ameliorate unpleasant living conditions and social leadership is lacking. People live crammed together in an environment characterized by poverty, poor housing, sickness and a high crime rate. It also seems as if an inability to escape from such an environment is passed on from one generation to the next, so that he who is born among the urban poor is likely to remain among them until he dies.[1] One subgroup often in desperate straits is that of newcomers from country areas. In some developing countries, the distress of the urban poor may be overlooked because of the prior attention paid to rural development.

In many parts of the world, adults under 25 are numerically the main consumers of post-school education. This fact makes all the more pitiable the plight of those young people who have little or no education, above all those who can neither continue with their formal schooling nor take advantage of non-formal facilities provided under the rubric of adult education:[2]

> . . . many ministries of education have wittingly or unwittingly made this massive group of out-of-schoolers (mainly between the ages of 10 and 16) virtually forbidden territory for non-formal programmes devoted to basic general education—this in the name of 'protecting standards' and guarding unwary parents from educational hucksters.

In developing countries approximately one-half of the population is under 21. A large proportion of these children and young adults do not attend school[3] and it is unlikely that this proportion will diminish during the present century. Moreover, among those who do attend school the drop-out rate is appalling. Young people without marketable skills and the social confidence that success in education can give find themselves unemployed or under-employed in tedious dead-end jobs. In many developing countries and in sectors of many developed countries youth unemployment has reached crisis levels. It is also rapidly becoming a problem in certain industrialized countries.

1. cf. C. H. Meyer, *Social Work Practice, a Response to the Urban Crisis*, p. 60, New York, 1970: 'Yet, slum living is . . . a living, breathing daily reminder to the individual that in an affluent society he is deprived and degenerated. In a mobile society he is trapped within his neighbourhood. In a materialistic society, he is without any of its concrete rewards. In an increasingly educated society that is tooling up for the post cybernetic age, he is illiterate. In a society that strives for superior medical care, he is the sickest both mentally and physically. In a society that reached the moon, he must cling to his outmoded fire-escape.'
2. ICED, op. cit., p. 47.
3. In Asia it is estimated that 225 million, children and young people aged between 6 and 18 do not attend school. In the Philippines in 1970 only 392, 768 young people were in school out of a school-age population of 2,192,000 and many were nemployed.

To single out women as an educationally underprivileged group is a common but not very constructive practice. All that can safely be said is that, according to their social class and the cultural traditions of their societies, women are offered—or at any rate take—far fewer educational opportunities than men. Of the world's illiterate adults, 70 per cent are women; 85.7 per cent in Arab countries. In some industrialized countries it is well known that women greatly outnumber men in adult classes but on checking one discovers that the majority of them are interested in such culturally feminine subjects as cooking, dress-making and house design. Women very largely share the same learning needs as men. It is hard to believe that in practice there is not discrimination against them, though the discrimination often turns out to be social, not legal.

Along with other international organizations, Unesco has shown considerable concern about the need to widen women's access to educational opportunities. The concern is not only based on equity but on the realization that women have much more to contribute to social, civic and economic life than the present conventions will allow:[1]

> African women form an indispensable part of human resources for development. Without their contribution, the economies of African countries cannot be expected even to be maintained at their present low levels, much less advanced to meet the targets and levels which are consistently being set by African governments.

One educationally underprivileged group that is rapidly growing in size is the elderly poor. Today older people face many problems, especially in some industrially advanced countries. Their energy begins to flag, health problems may prevent them from engaging in physical activity and they may have to forgo or curtail such pleasures as eating what they like, drinking and smoking. At work there is usually no scope for advancement and indeed they may not desire it. Ahead they see their responsibilities diminishing, their options for change limited and the spectre of becoming dependent on others. Around them society is in a state of unprecedented flux; values formerly held sacred are no longer accepted by younger people; the future seems ever more uncertain. In many societies the family nexus has disintegrated, often leaving grandparents, great aunts and uncles to fend for themselves with no rewarding social roles to play. Less literate and numerate than the younger generation the ageing can easily feel alienated from a contemporary culture dominated by the cult of youth. It is not surprising that many older people are losing their sense of security and facing their last years with apprehension.

1. ECA, *Out of School Education for Women in African Countries*, p. 1, Addis Ababa, 1973.

Within many countries there are four subgroups whose main problem is adaptation to, not necessarily assimilation by, the common culture. First, there are migrant workers who hope to save enough money to return home, in the meantime perhaps having acquired an occupational skill. Secondly, there are migrants who hope to remain permanently in the country of their adoption. Both these groups, which are rapidly increasing in number,[1] face welfare and cultural problems, very often including linguistic disability. Thirdly, there are refugees, who pose a particularly thorny problem when they resist being absorbed into a new society. Finally, there are established but traditionally underprivileged ethnic minorities.

Beyond the target groups mentioned so far there are miscellaneous groups which are either particular to certain countries—for example, nomadic populations—or relatively small (for example, mothers who are house-bound): certain societies regard prisoners as an important target group for education on the grounds that it is often a lack of education which leads to crime and that what they need is to learn a trade and to develop social competence. Long-term patients in hospitals may also be regarded as a target group, especially those who lack the social resources and skills to cope with their post-hospitalization problems.

The second major category of educationally underprivileged referred to above are the physically and mentally handicapped. Not all the handicapped have missed a good initial education but a high proportion of them did so. At present, the handicapped are more often than not unable to take advantage of educational opportunities even if they are available in abundance in their neighbourhoods. Their physical disability may tie them to their beds or prevent them from climbing steps. The deaf, the dumb, the blind—each group faces unique problems. All these physically handicapped require not only special attention but as far as possible the opportunity to join in normal educational activities.

It is generally asserted by medical specialists that the mentally deficient should lead lives that are as normal as possible. This presupposes giving them a basic education, helping them to acquire an employable skill and access to communal educational facilities in their spare time. Only a proportion of the mentally ill, a group growing annually in numbers, are educationally underprivileged in the orthodox sense but they may be regarded as underprivileged in the sense that they need guidance in learning how to identify and master the conditions which cause their illness through group therapy techniques.

1. Easier and cheaper forms of long-distance transport, combined with the relaxation of immigration laws in many countries, have led to a striking increase in the flow of migration. For example, there were no fewer than 3.8 million foreign workers in France in July 1974.

What can be done through education to help the target groups delineated in the foregoing paragraphs to better their present condition? The overriding problem is how to stimulate people so that they will want to learn. Far too little empirical research has been undertaken into the nature of the barriers to learning but certain facts are clear enough. The root problem is that the underprivileged are convinced that education has nothing to offer them, although they may hold out great expectations for the education of their children. In their own eyes they have failed either because they did not go to school or because they failed to make the grade and were then cast into outer darkness. They do not discern any possibility of improving their job prospects by means of education even when labelled as 'training'. If they are conscious of the high private returns that may accrue from education, they may nevertheless reject it because their aversion is so intense.[1] They lack participatory skills and participatory situations frighten them. They probably face circumstantial obstacles: powerful neighbourhood contempt for anyone 'who tries to get on'; crowded and noisy homes, perhaps with feeble lighting or no lighting at all; chronic fatigue through overwork, stress or malnutrition.

These are daunting barriers and it is idle to pretend that they can easily be scaled. More than one country in recent years has devoted substantial funds and effort to the war on poverty, treating education as a major arm of attack, only to find that the results were disappointing. The painful truth is that the education of the underprivileged is a very high-cost undertaking, far more costly than conventional adult education and probably more costly, indeed, than the expensive sector of higher education. Furthermore it is an undertaking that is bound to be long drawn-out. This severe cost factor and long deferment of returns may well explain why most approaches to the problem are localized and short term.

Yet only massive government expenditure and the development of mass resources—legal, institutional, mass communications—will breach the barriers to learning. Elsewhere the question is raised of reallocating resources in favour of adult education. The question is raised with particular stridency in connexion with policies for dealing with the underprivileged. However, the magnitude of the population to be aided can be reduced for operational purposes by dividing it

1. cf. Unesco, *A Retrospective International Survey of Adult Education*, p. 72, Paris, Unesco, 1972: 'It is commonly assumed that the prevailing pattern of enrolments is due to the fact that most of the non-participants were alienated from the higher culture of their societies and especially from the educational system at an early age, certainly from about the time they left school. They view educational institutions as elitist and authoritarian and it does not occur to them that somewhere there might be a class or an activity from which they could derive personal profit and enjoyment.'

between those who are manifestly reachable and the hard core who are impervious to external influences.

Although few authoritative studies have been completed on the attitudes of adults to educational ideas they suffice to confirm that there is a continuum of attitudes towards adult education from the enthusiastic at one end to inbuilt resistance at the other. The conclusions adduced from two particular studies are especially convincing. The first study was made in the United Kingdom:[1]

> Attitudes to education shade off gradually from enthusiasm at one end of the scale to rejection at the other. For practical purposes, one could draw a line across this distribution at the point where indifference changes to a mild curiosity to know more about the world around one. Below this threshold were nearly forty-five per cent of the sample who could be said to be resistant to new ideas and higher values. Such people tend to avoid unaccustomed impressions, or can't be bothered to consider them. Such people read little and what they do read tends to be the lighter items in the newspaper; they do not look at or listen to the more serious broadcast programmes, or have much to do with what we might describe as cultural activities of any sort. But, looking at the brighter side of the picture, there is a good half of the population who are curious about the world and their neighbours, or are anxious to learn more about them, and some—a minority—have a conscious love of learning.

The second study was undertaken in the United States:[2]

> . . . we approached this question by considering a potential participant as someone manifesting two fundamental dispositions : an interest in knowing more about something and a readiness to engage in systematic study in order to satisfy his interests.
>
> This notion, in turn, led us to conceive the total population as containing three aggregates of individuals; those both interested in learning and favourably disposed to taking courses, those interested in learning but not prepared to take courses, and those uninterested in learning anything new at all. Of the total sample interviewed, 44 per cent showed favourable dispositions of both types, 26 per cent identified something they wanted to know more about but showed no readiness to take courses, and 29 per cent were unable to think of anything at all they wanted to know more about. As a very rough approximation, then, we concluded that as many as seven adults in ten may have interests that could conceivably lead them into some type of learning situation, but that less than one half of the population could be seriously regarded as potential adult education participants.

1. J. M. Trenaman, *Communication and Comprehension*, p. 187, London, 1967.
2. Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p. 14–15.

To qualify as reachable a person must evince signs that he would like to learn either alone or in a group. Four categories of reachable people have been discerned: (a) those who are prevented from taking advantage of educational opportunities only through lack of money or time; (b) those who are unaware of what is available; (c) those who are afraid of the hostile reactions of employers or acquaintances; (d) those who do not want to learn simply on their own account but who would learn as members of a group.

It may be objected that such a strategy would merely lead to the addition of another social stratum to societies which are already unhealthily stratified. This is no doubt true but it is a very privileged country that can afford to pursue an indiscriminate strategy. Most countries are compelled to select priorities.[1]

The scale of the problem can be minimized still further by concentrating initially upon particular categories of people. In developing countries this will almost certainly mean the functionally illiterate; in more developed countries it may mean the unemployed or the underemployed.

Although mass resources are required to underpin the approaches to the education of the underprivileged, it is at the community level that the crucial action must occur.[2] Here it is necessary to enlist the total resources of the community: social welfare, local health, housing, employment and agricultural extension offices together with employers, trade unions, media representatives and voluntary agencies. What contribution can adult education institutions make? The answer is very little by themselves or by relying exclusively on providing educational programmes. Instead they have to work in close collaboration with other professional and voluntary groups equally concerned to provide for the well-being of the community. But it is no less true that without the co-operation of adult education agencies the social work and community development agencies can only partially succeed in their tasks, for the provision of welfare services and more physical facilities may lessen material want but not root out the causes of deprivation. People have to learn how to diagnose and overcome their own problems.

The needs of the educationally underprivileged cannot be met by waiting for them to come to an educational institution. Two complementary approaches are indicated. One is to take facilities to where

1. cf. Coombs *et al.*, op. cit., p. 95: '. . . a strategy be designed—at least for rural areas hobbled by a severe dearth of resources and educational opportunities—which directs resources mainly toward expanding learning opportunities for those who, for whatever reason, already have a strong appetite to learn, who can most effectively employ self-instruction, and who are most likely to retain and use whatever they learn.'
2. Mass education campaigns and community development strategies are examined further below, pages 97 and 98.

they live and to the villages, factories, offices, shops and other centres where they work. The second is not to offer them programmes labelled educational but to offer attractive incentives. The underprivileged assess the worth of education largely in terms of its tangible advantages and immediate relevance.[1] The existence of distinctive middle-class and lower-class attitudes towards education is scarcely a revolutionary discovery but it does have important implications for programme planning. For most manual workers the point of entry may well be a desire to increase their earning power by upgrading their vocational skills, since there is a glimmer of hope that once a man's interest has been arrested by an appeal to his pocket, he may be induced to explore wider educational horizons. For the unemployed the vital thing is to learn whatever is necessary to get a job. For a housewife the point of entry may be involvement in the setting up of a play-group from which her children will benefit.

Up to the present time, public and private programmes designed to assist the underprivileged have nearly always been restricted to literacy and vocational skill training. These, though essential, are not enough. If people are to be helped to change their habits and attitudes to a significant extent, they must also acquire some capacity for self-analysis, interpersonal skills, a sense of social purpose and a constructive outlook on leisure.

Adult educators, like community developers and social workers, must take extreme care not to interfere with communities whose internal dynamics are unknown to them. Many communities, both in the rural areas and in the inner cities, may look depressed to the external observer but give deep or adequate satisfaction to those who belong to them. In communities considered deprived there often exists a warmth and mutual aid which social planners can easily destroy but not so easily replace by something better. Again, many communities urgently need outside help but the help has to be thought out carefully and directly related to expressed needs and to people's capacity for effort since, in order to feel impelled to act, human beings must not only foresee a useful purpose but know that they are competent to act successfully. The fear of blundering into an unfamiliar experience is all too often acute. Moreover, a person who will decline to act independently may be induced to act as a member of a group. The more

1. cf. R. Shaw and L. West, 'Class Dismissed', *Adult Education*, Vol. 44, No. 6, March 1972, p. 355: 'However, a few aspects of working-class life may be singled out as being particularly relevant to the task of the adult educator. The first is "cognitive poverty", characterised by limitation of interest to the particular, the concrete, and the familiar as contrasted with the general, the abstract and the new and challenging. Along with this goes a limited linguistic equipment and a suspicion of "book learning" as unreal compared with lessons from first-hand experience. Finally, the working-class attitude to education is very utilitarian: education must be obviously useful, preferably in terms of job prospects.'

people are educated the more they are accustomed to learning by themselves; they may indeed positively shy away from learning in collaboration with others. The position of the uneducated is quite different. They do not know how to organize a learning experience and as individuals they may fend off would-be helpers. But they may be drawn into a group activity in which they can play a meaningful role and through which self-respect may come.

There is one aspect of the problem of dealing with the educationally underprivileged that is extraordinarily delicate. Outside observers have tended to designate the underprivileged as a special social group. If, however, the underprivileged are made to feel like some subspecies or the recipients of charity,[1] they are likely to react by spurning assistance or by shrewdly accepting material hand-outs but rejecting the attached educational strings. Here the value of the community development technique of stimulating people to seek their own salvation is indisputable.

The problem of the educationally underprivileged adult will always be with us. It is ultimately a cultural problem that cannot be removed altogether but can be mitigated by adopting some of the strategies discussed above. However, the degree of mitigation will be slight unless there is a concomitant reform of educational systems and this implies reforming social structures and bringing about a general revision of public attitudes. The cultural ethos of a community is immensely important because it determines behavioural norms such as leaving school early and not affecting a superior mode of speech. In a well-known passage[2] T. S. Eliot pointed out that intellectual and cultural development can take place only if the external influences

> . . . not only of family and environment, but of work and play, of newsprint and spectacles, of entertainment and sport, are in harmony with them.

The moral is that the approach to the education of underprivileged adults must be not only through carefully tailored special programmes but also through the purposeful orchestration of all those informal agencies in the community which can affect attitudes.

During this particular epoch of civilization it would seem that, in every kind of society, even moderately enterprising adult education agencies can win success in numerical terms simply by catering to the needs of the already educated. An arduous but ultimately far more rewarding task is to assist the less fortunate members of society to discover a new way of life by means of purposeful learning.

1. From the point of view of those who plan programmes the use of the terms 'educationally underprivileged' or 'educationally disadvantaged' is unavoidable but they may be offensive terms to the persons whom they wish to help.
1. T. S. Eliot, *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture*, p. 106, London, 1948.

Chapter 4

Changing structures

Efforts to satisfy personal, community and national needs must be sustained by the appropriate structures, programmes and subject-matter, and this, in turn, implies that the entire system of provision must be so flexible and sensitive that any individual can freely move in and out of it according to his needs and personal circumstances.

All too readily many people connected with adult education assume that whereas the formal system tends to be monolithic and conservative, theirs is a pluralist service characterized by its zest for experiment. The first assumption is justified but there is not much empirical evidence to support the second. Such evidence as exists—for example on the interaction between schools and adult education—tends to show that the former influence the latter rather than the other way round. Observers are perhaps misled into believing that the innovative spirit is widespread by the number of exciting projects in adult education reported in print or cited at national and international conferences. In fact, since about 1965 there has probably been considerably more experiment in some formal systems than in most of adult education. Nor can it be assumed that the existence of a *pot-pourri* of institutions automatically denotes a variety of flavours. On the contrary, a host of providers may well offer more or less similar programmes and, as pointed out above, compete for scarce resources. This is not an argument for or against multifarious provision[1] but a warning against the too easy assumption that variety means originality.

1. The Committee on Adult Education in England and Wales considered the confusing battalions of providers before it and decided that, on the whole, they should not be brought into one system. cf. H. A. Jones, *Adult Education: A Plan for Development*, p. 4–5, Council of Europe, Committee for Higher Education and Research: 'Such a medley invites attack. It has been criticised as

The cardinal principle should be that adult education is not synonymous with attendance at classes or even at an institution nor with following uniform curricula. Instead it is obtaining guidance and support for a serious learning effort at a time and under circumstances favourable to the learner. This leads to the enunciation of a second principle, namely, that learners must be involved actively in the choice and design of their learning experiences. A third guiding principle is that learning experiences should be provided by other than strictly adult education institutions. The *Final Report* of the Tokyo Conference observed that:[1]

> Implementing the concept of life-long education carried with it the necessity for such traditionally non-educational agencies as factories, firms, social action groups and ministries other than ministries of education, to take part in the planning and implementation of adult education programmes to a far greater extent than heretofore. This was also true of such other bodies with a combination of educational and other aims as trade unions and co-operatives.

The first principle embodies the notion of time-free, space-free, age-free, admission-free, work-free study, which has recently been given prominence in a number of countries:[2]

> This further education must be arranged flexibly enough as regards place and time for it to suit the very varied working hours and requirements of persons in employment. Regular courses in further education held at fixed times and places in the form of conventional face-to-face teaching are not an adequate answer to the problem. 'Permanent education' must be delivered to the individual student at the times and places best suited to him (whilst carrying on his ordinary employment) wherever and whenever it will be most effective. In other words, the working materials, broadcast instruction programmes, student guidance and the like must be delivered to the student

inefficient through lack of co-ordination, as wasteful through lack of central control, as duplicating the easy forms of work and neglecting the difficult, as conservative and élitist, as bound within a bourgeius, domestic ideology and lacking social relevance or intellectual bite. And if all this, applied only to the non-vocational field, is put alongside the varied structures of further, vocational, technical, professional and higher education, the chaos might seem complete. What was widely expected of the committee was a reduction of all this to simple order, the design of an efficient and sweetly-running machine that would integrate all the necessary processes into a smooth production line [continuing throughout life].'

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 14.
2. G. Dohmen *et al.*, *European Institute for Multi-Media Distant Studies*, p. 1, Council of Europe, 1973. See also *Diversity by Design*, San Francisco, 1973 (Report of the Commission on Non-Traditional Study).

in such a way that he can learn or study in his spare time at home (distant study). In addition, these learning aids must be made up of components or assembly units of self-contained subject-matter, variable enough courses best suited to his purposes (the 'building blocks' principle module-system).

In the past an impediment to learning for the adult was the inflexibility of course structures and of time-tabling of classes. Now there is an increasing tendency to allow the learner to travel at his own speed and in his own time. Flexible timing is essential so that no matter what the work or domestic duties of a would-be student he may have the time to study. This implies not only that institution-based classes should be offered at convenient times of day or night throughout the year but that generous facilities should be made available for independent learning at home or at work or in a public library or in a special centre. It also means that as far as possible a student should be free to start, leave and return to a programme of study at his convenience. The intensive terminal courses characteristic of most formal educational systems are demonstrably unsuitable for the great majority of adults. The implication is that the credit or modular unit system characteristic of the United States should be universally adopted.

Flexibility of space implies, first, that a person should be able to study no matter whether he lives in a remote village or a city suburb without public transport or whether he is a seafarer. It implies, secondly, that qualifications obtained in one place should be recognized in all other places. Ideally, the transfer of qualifications should be possible between countries as well as within countries.

Flexibility of age implies that educational opportunities are not restricted to particular age groups but open to all regardless of age. This is not simply a question of rescinding national laws or institutional regulations but of making it abundantly clear that there is no discrimination whatsoever against any person anxious to learn on the grounds that he is too young or too old.

Flexibility of admissions implies that no adult will be denied access to a learning opportunity because he is said to lack the necessary admission requirements. This does not mean that someone who did not go to school should be accepted for a university course at honours level, but that such a person should be given the opportunity to prepare for such a level without having to spend *x* years in the process. It means, in short, that an adult's suitability for entry into an educational programme at any level should be judged on the value of his experience and the present state of his knowledge rather than upon the possession of certificates, diplomas and degrees.[1]

1. cf. Council of Europe, *Consultative Assembly Resolution*, p. 3, Strasbourg, 1970: 'Revision of the concept of qualifications so that it is more in the nature of a periodical information of the manner in which a person uses his knowledge and skills for the purpose of carrying out his duties.'

Flexibility of working life implies that adults should be able to study during periods which would normally be spent in a gainful occupation. This might entail being absent from work on paid leave for a prolonged period of time or it might entail interspersing work with study. What is certain is that many forms of study are too exacting to be pursued while also sustaining a full-time occupation. Moreover, combining work with study affords an opportunity to relate theory and practice.[1]

It is obvious that if adult students are to be free to study to the extent just described, they cannot be expected to rely exclusively upon programmes arranged within a single institution. On the contrary, it will usually be necessary for them to take advantage of the methods of distance learning discussed in the next chapter. The fact remains, however, that most adults seeking educational opportunities will necessarily look to a nearby institution. Since the Montreal Conference there have been many national and international conferences, or sessions of such conferences, devoted to the question of what kind of accommodation is suitable for housing adult education programmes.

In practice educational programmes for adults seldom take place in purpose-built and specially equipped premises but in 'borrowed' premises, or premises such as schools and universities which clearly do not owe their *raison d'être* to providing adult education programmes. This is as true of highly industrialized countries as of poor developing countries where the possibility of building separate accommodation is in any case demonstrably Utopian. New schools in the majority of countries are far more attractive to adults than those built years ago. Moreover, many public authorities are now disposed to bear in mind adult needs when designing new schools. As the concept of lifelong integrated education gains wider circulation, it is becoming illogical physically to hive off adult education activities from the rest of the educational service.

Meanwhile, there have recently been unparalleled efforts in many countries to design buildings for adult use or at least to ensure that essential facilities are available. If one were to assemble the best architectural features of the centres which have recently been constructed or developed, one would finish with a model building incorporating the following features: an auditorium; classrooms furnished with comfortable chairs and desks easily moved around; seminar rooms; workshops; craft rooms; a gymnasium; store-rooms; offices; a teachers' work-room; a refreshment room; rooms for social groups; a library; a language laboratory; an audio-visual aids room; a crèche; a techni-

1. cf. Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, *The Learning Society*, op. cit., p. 22. '. . . there should be more opportunities for individuals to alternate periods of full-time intensive study with other activities, including work.'

cians' room; an exhibition area; an outside recreational area equipped with flood-lighting. All the foregoing facilities are to be found, together with many others, in the giant, multi-purpose cultural centres characteristic of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, of which many more have been opened since the early sixties. Another kind of centre which deserves to be mentioned is the community centre designed explicitly as a social forum but in which the underprivileged target groups referred to in Chapter 3 may be encouraged to take part in educational programmes if the titles appeal. In Japan, a government decree for the 'Encouragement of Establishing and Maintaining Citizens' Public Halls' stated:[1]

> It may be advisable to establish in every town and village a Citizens' Public Hall, a house for the citizens, where town and village people may come at any time, talk, read and discuss with one another, and sometimes obtain help in personal problems and trade. . . This is a multi-purpose cultural centre, simultaneously functioning as a civic school, library, museum, town hall, assembly house and depot. It will also provide headquarters for various organizations in the provinces such as Youth and Women's Associations.

In metropolitan areas of Argentina, adult education centres are converted into open community centres on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays. Finally, in Italy there are some eighty *centri di lettura* specially designed for the illiterate; each is equipped with classrooms, a cinema, a discotheque, a television room and a library of about 5,000 books.

Various types of centres have been created to serve rural areas. There are 'school' farms in Nicaragua, which under the terms of an Integrated Programme of Applied Nutrition aim: (a) to give technical assistance to the teachers, children, housewives and farmers in the rural areas; (b) to teach new agricultural techniques. The programme involves 212 schools and 865 teachers. During the sixties there was a notable extension of the farm settlement idea, often modelled on the Israeli kibbutzim. Three out of the four regional governments then existing in Nigeria started such schemes soon after 1960. In 1968 Iran opened a large number of rural cultural centres, each of which is intended to serve a local population of approximately 16,000 and to foster social and cultural development. A centre comprises a library, a mobile cinema, a sports field and a children's nursery. Vocational and literacy classes are available and wherever possible television clubs are formed. In many villages in the developing countries young people with a primary school education have no opportunities for further education or training. As a way of dealing with this problem, Kenya has so far established over twenty village polytechnics where the

1. Evidence submitted by Japan to the Tokyo Conference.

stress is upon education for self-employment in such occupations as carpentry, masonry, sign-writing, tailoring, book-keeping and tanning.

Several trends in the use of accommodation are especially noteworthy. One is the utilization of rooms and work-shops in private factories and firms, not only for adults learning a manual skill but for adults taking part in general education courses. Another trend is to set aside a room or rooms within an educational or social centre in which groups of adults can view educational television programmes with or without the guidance of a teacher. An important innovation made by some institutions has been the open planning of rooms. This often entails having no interior walls on one or more floors in a building, thereby enabling the planning staff to exploit the space for an ever-changing variety of purposes. Finally, far more care is being taken than in the past to site institutions in places where the maximum number of people can attend them. In this connexion, the location of adult education centres within factories is of particular interest.

One accommodation trend that must not be overlooked is that of establishing residential centres either by adapting existing or by erecting new buildings. Sometimes these centres are created for one specific purpose, as when a government wishes to concentrate the training of a professional or other group in one place;[1] sometimes they are created by a public authority or a university for the purpose of offering a wide range of courses; sometimes they are established by special interest groups such as church lay training centres, of which there are large numbers in Europe and at the last count twenty-nine in Africa, the most well known being the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre in Zambia. Again, the reason for setting up a centre may be purely or primarily expedient in that it offers the most efficient way of bringing people together from scattered geographical locations. But the reason may also be that it is considered good educational practice to give people an opportunity to study away from their day-to-day environment in company with a group of people with whom they will have time to interact to their mutual benefit. It should be added that in certain adult education circles there is now some scepticism about the psychological benefits of residential centres.[2]

1. In Kenya, for example, twenty-four farmers' training centres have been established at strategic centres throughout the country. Simply furnished and serving simple food, with accommodation ranging from twenty to 100 beds, these centres offer intensive courses on basic agricultural techniques lasting from one to two weeks. The men and women who attend come from the rural areas and pay a small fee. Particular attention is paid to rural home economics, to which end the proportion of female participants is sustained at about 30 per cent. The Ministry of Agriculture employs a team of teaching specialists.
2. cf. Simpson, op. cit., p. 149: 'There was a great and promising development of these after the Second World War, but since then the movement seems to have lost much of its impetus. Lately there has been some questioning of the propositions on which the movement was founded.'

Many reports on adult education recommend that there should be free-standing adult education centres or at least completely independent adult blocks within larger educational establishments. The arguments in favour of separate accommodation for adult users have now been well rehearsed: (a) when adult education agencies share accommodation with schools, they are almost invariably the victims of neglect; (b) adult needs are so distinctive that they should be met in a special kind of environment; (c) rooms and facilities in dual use are seldom available to adults at convenient times; (d) many existing educational institutions are inconveniently sited and imperfectly constructed from an adult point of view.

Specific objections to using primary and even secondary schools are perennial. In addition to the above points, critics comment that headmasters (principals) and teaching staff are hostile, that the school equipment is usually locked away at the end of the school day, that the office and common-room facilities of the day-time staff are not available, that there are no suitable common rooms for the use of adults, that caretakers (janitors) behave like lords of the earth—the list is endless. When all these criticisms have been ventilated, however, it now seems that the joint use of educational facilities is bound to prevail if only because educational expenditure as a proportion of national expenditure is escalating at such a rate that public authorities are obliged to seek economies in building. [1]

It is a safe generalization to state that in almost every situation adult education agencies are short of accommodation for office administration. The shortage is generally caused by the fact that adult educators customarily operate singly or in relatively small groups. It is, therefore, uneconomic to allow them completely autonomous administrative quarters. The result is that when they are not working from a government department or from an institution such as a school or purpose-built centre they are obliged to occupy rented rooms wherever they can find them. At the same time, those who are working from a public institution often find that their claims for office space are given low priority. In the absence of a large-scale adult education service with its own network of offices dispersed throughout a country there is no easy solution to this problem, but any plans for expansion must obviously include a reference to the need for adequate administrative space.

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 25: 'With respect to infrastructure, it was recommended that the financial waste of constructing enormous school buildings which were closed at the end of every school day and reserved for schools use only, should cease. Public authorities should be encouraged to create multi-purpose institutions and to encourage architects to design general-purpose projects based on the principles of lifelong education, making it possible to use buildings successively or simultaneously for formal education activities and adult education.'

Transport is often required by an adult education service for one or both of two purposes: to convey organizers, teachers and equipment from place to place; to convey participants to meetings. The distribution of literacy materials is often a problem. Some services organized on a national or regional basis now have their own transport pool. In several countries, people who want to attend meetings but who live in outlying areas are taken to and from home by public transport, which is often in the form of a regular bus service.

Some people argue that if public authorities are politically committed to the idea of lifelong education, then it follows that at least some educational activities, regardless of the age group for which they are intended, should take place in a single building complex. This is in fact the principle to which community schools adhere. It is appropriate, therefore, to turn at this stage from the consideration of accommodation for adult education to the types of institution which seem best fitted to discharge responsibility for providing a broadly based public service.[1] Four models of institutions will be selected: community schools; community colleges; polyvalent centres; workers' universities.

The community school as such is not a new conception. What is striking is its general expansion in several countries and its adoption in certain parts of other countries. Though community schools may be found in large centres of population, they have been established for the most part in small, compact towns, especially in rural areas. Some incorporate all-age schools, whereas others incorporate only senior schools.

The basic principles underlying community school practice

1. The institutions which in general offer adult education programmes may best be classified according to their aims which, in turn, may be summarized under three heads: (a) institutions exclusively concerned with adult education, such as university extension departments; (b) institutions for which adult education is one of several aims; and (c) institutions, such as the churches, which use education as one of the means of achieving their general aims.

   The following formula covers all the possible permutations of institutional sponsorship according to their aims: (a) government or local government institutions existing primarily or exclusively for an educational purpose; (b) independent institutions existing primarily or exclusively for an educational purpose and in receipt of a subvention from public funds; (c) wholly independent institutions existing primarily or exclusively for an educational purpose; (d) government or local government institutions including an educational component in their programmes; (e) independent institutions including an educational purpose among other aims and in receipt of grant-aid from public funds; (f) wholly independent institutions including an educational purpose among their aims; (g) wholly independent institutions including a specific educational purpose among their aims or using education as one of the means of achieving their general aims, e. g. the churches; (h) auxiliaries of education such as libraries and museums; (i) the mass media, in so far as they consciously fulfil an educational function; (j) voluntary local associations that include an educational aim among their activities.

are that the school should belong to the community and that the two should interact, that the school should be the focal centre for community affairs, that the school should stay open in the evenings, at weekends and during vacations and that adults should consider it natural to make use of the school's facilities throughout their lives. In practice, these principles presuppose that the school will be accessible to adults during the daytime and that outside normal school hours children as well as adults will use the facilities. It is also presupposed that besides attending classes of formal instruction, adult users will engage in a variety of social, cultural and recreational activities. A well-endowed school might be equipped with a library, a swimming pool, a clinic and a crèche. In rural areas, a subsidized evening and weekend transport service should be made available.

The community school has interesting implications for control and staffing. To begin with, the principal or headmaster must become positively responsive to the educational and social needs of the whole neighbourhood. Secondly, he cannot hope to run the school without reference to the wishes of the users. On the contrary, he must trust the local community to run its own affairs.[1] Thirdly, teachers must necessarily take a more comprehensive and flexible view of their duties. Fourthly, a reasonable percentage of the staff must specialize in dealing with young people and adults. Finally, the teaching staff in general and those concerned with the adult users in particular require a different form of training from that traditionally provided in teacher-training colleges.

Apart from its relevance to the lifelong learning ideal, the community school may be regarded as the most satisfactory type of adult education institution on five counts: (a) it is economical since it guarantees maximum use of existing resources throughout the day and during weekends; (b) it destroys, or at least goes far towards destroying, the sense of alienation from the schools which affects many adults; (c) it facilitates the transition from school to youth activities and from youth to adult activities; (d) it provides a natural setting in which to bring together all age groups with minimum stress; (e) it allows for local community self-government and control of financial resources.

In some community schools, adults attend the regular day-time classes expressly designed for teenage children. Examples of community schools are to be found in Laos, the Philippines, the United

1. cf. S. Begdanov, *A Community School in Yugoslavia*, p. 9, Unesco, 1963: 'It is the school-commune relationship which is determined by the character of relations existing between the society and education. This characteristic feature is involved in the idea that the community school is a social institution not only by its function and role, but also by its position, the manner of management, the way of acting, the forms of its organic connection with the local community in which and for which it exists.'

Republic of Tanzania, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. The United Republic of Tanzania is treating the community school as the lynch-pin of its entire educational system.

Experience shows that the transformation of schools into 'community' schools is easily accomplished by fiat but not always easy to achieve as a reality. Some members of the administrative and teaching staff of community schools who have been appointed to cater for the needs of adults in the community are wont to complain that they are treated as second-class citizens. Principals and teachers do not welcome changes that do not fit in with their preconceptions about the aims and organization of schools. Those who divide their time between teaching the young during the daytime and organizing 'adult' programmes in out-of-school hours complain that they run up against numerous institutional obstacles and that, ironically, the very adults whom they want to serve insist upon viewing them primarily as *school*-teachers who have precious little to offer mature and experienced people. Some adult educators who used to agitate in favour of using the schools as a base from and in which to operate are now arguing, in the light of their experience with community schools, in favour of a return to a formal division of labour. This would doubtless be a retrograde step. Time is required for the staff of community schools as a whole to acquire an outward- instead of an inward-looking attitude.

The term 'community college', like the term 'community school' was first used in the United States of America. The community college is distinguished from the community school in that it caters exclusively for those who have left school.[1] Throughout the industrialized world, a large number of similar post-school institutions labelled with a variety of names is growing up alongside the universities. Their main function is usually to provide professional and technical courses for young people who intend to work in local industry or commerce. Many of them offer pre-university courses; an increasing number also provide university-level courses, usually of two years' duration, so as to reduce the pressure of demand for places in the universities. In addition, they are tending to arrange adult education programmes, especially in the United States. One school of thought believes, indeed, that the community college rather than the community school is the most suitable type of neighbourhood centre and the best placed to provide an adult education service.

The services provided by community colleges may be summarized as follows:

1. In the County of Leicestershire in the United Kingdom community schools are called community colleges. The village colleges located in several English counties are also essentially community schools.

1. Programmes normally provided in the first and second years of degree-level courses which provide sound education of such quality that credits may be applied towards degrees of the baccalaureate level or higher.
2. Vocational and technical programmes in the industrial, agricultural and semi-professional fields. Such programmes may be of long or short duration, depending on the amount of time needed by the student to complete the requirements for entrance into his chosen occupation.
3. Programmes or courses for adults and young people designed to provide general education.
4. Individual services to students, including guidance and counselling, assistance in choosing careers and removal of deficiencies in preparing for degree-level programmes.
5. Programmes of community service for individuals and groups interested in cultural, civic, recreational or community betterment projects.

In North America community colleges are far and away the outstanding growth institutions in education of the past decade. On their behalf ambitious claims have been put forward as to their unique ability to serve all the post-school educational needs of a neighbourhood. Although few colleges can live up to the expectations of their more ardent supporters there is no question that the colleges in general have displayed uncommon energy and ingenuity in building up a comprehensive community education service. The ideal community college would fulfil all the requirements of an ideal adult education institution: (a) to make all facilities and trained personnel available day and night; (b) to adapt its physical facilities to multiple use for persons of all ages; (c) to develop its curriculum and activities from continuous study of people's basic needs; (d) to consider equally important the weekend, evening and regular academic daytime programme; (e) to integrate educational, social, physical, recreational and health programmes for children, youth and adults; (f) to make full use of all available resources, both human and material, in carrying out its programme; (g) to be a source of initiative and leadership in planning and carrying out constructive community projects; (h) to promote democratic thinking and action in all phases of its work; (i) to construct its curriculum and activities creatively and not to rely upon traditional educational patterns; (j) to inspire its staff with a desire to be of service in real-life activities beyond the usual classroom responsibilities; (k) to expand and diffuse leadership throughout the community; (l) to involve all the persons concerned in planning its programme; (m) to seek to enrich all phases of its programme by use of community resources; (n) to aim to develop a sense of unity and solidarity in its neighbourhood; (o) to co-ordinate living and learning activities with other agencies in the community; (p) to establish

confidence in the minds of people that they can solve co-operatively their own community problems.[1]

Polyvalent adult education centres provide opportunities for working people, including the self-employed, to update their knowledge and skills in respect of their various needs—technical, academic, cultural and civic. There is no age barrier, emphasis being placed upon functional needs. The programmes of the centres are directly related to the requirements of the neighbouring community, the functional needs of which are ascertained by initial and periodic surveys and by regular interviews and consultations with key personnel in local government, industry and commerce, and in civic life. The curricula, designed by the internal staff in consultation with outside experts, are regularly revised and the duration of courses is elastic according to the nature of the demand. General studies are not taught separately, but integrated into the global syllabus and aimed at helping the participants to arrive at a deeper understanding of the characteristics of, and the problems facing, their immediate environment. Employed in the main on a part-time basis, the instructors are selected from among specialists in a particular craft or profession and required to attend special orientation courses in adult education methods and techniques. The permanent staff is kept to a minimum and usually consists of the following personnel, apart from administrative and clerical staff: a director; specialists in technical and vocational training, social studies, economics and civics; one specialist in research and curriculum design and one in techniques of communication; a librarian; a documentalist. Though some classes meet in the centre as such, many are held locally at the convenience of the students in such places as schools, factories, trade union headquarters and community centres. Civic and cultural events are arranged, both within and outside the centre, not only for the students but for the benefit of the community at large.

The financial cost of establishing and maintaining a polyvalent centre is relatively low because of the calculated use of existing premises and equipment. The initial capital outlay and the greater part of the recurrent costs must necessarily be borne by public funds, but many centres also turn for support to local interests, especially to industrial concerns, and some require the students to pay fees. A new centre at Cienfuegos in Cuba has been entirely financed by the government.

The success of a polyvalent centre ultimately hinges upon the intimacy of its connexion with the local community and its ability to respond effectively to felt needs. For this reason, the governing board or committee consists of representatives of the various interested

1. Adapted from W. E. Jarvis, 'What is a Community School', *Adult Education Nova Scotia*, Vol. 8, No. 3, May/June, 1971. See also P. L. Clancy, *The Flint Community School Concept: A Summary Statement*, Flint, Michigan.

groups in the community. Versions of polyvalent centres are to be found in a number of countries and include workers' and people's universities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; University Centre for Social and Economic Co-operation (CUCES) at Nancy in France; Shramek Vidyapeeth in India; certain technical colleges in the United Kingdom.

Among the most original of adult education institutions are the workers' universities in Yugoslavia. Although initially created immediately after the Second World War, they have not yet received the international recognition that they deserve. They came into being as a result of the government's decision to decentralize political power and to institute worker control of factories. Introduced at a rapid rate between 1952 and 1954, they have since continued to multiply until today there are roughly 450 of them.

The process of decentralizing power thrust upon great numbers of workers responsibilities with which they could not cope for lack of knowledge of basic economic concepts as well as organizational skills. At the same time, the government wished them to become aware of the over-all aims and policies of the newly formed régime. It was therefore decided that whenever possible an adult education centre should be installed within a factory or industrial area to be controlled very largely by the workers themselves, to provide a broad range of vocationally and culturally oriented courses and to make use of a variety of teaching methods.

Today all employers in Yugoslavia are responsible for the education of their employees. Some directly provide educational and training facilities but the majority send their employees to the nearest workers' university. Annually thousands of adults attend the various courses offered by the universities for which, provided they attend during working hours and are not studying a foreign language, they pay no fees. Courses range from basic education to degree level and the content is determined by diagnosing the needs of each student and the occupational skills required in their respective industries. Thus, the form and subject-matter of courses vary from university to university. By providing training in management and the care of personnel, together with courses in economics, sociology, psychology and politics, the universities help workers to become skilful at running the factories where they work and the communes where they live. Besides vocational courses, a full range of general academic courses is available. Films are shown and plays and concerts performed, block visits are arranged to cultural events and excursions are made to historically interesting places.

There is a considerable degree of worker control at all levels. On the management council only the president is elected by the staff. Courses are planned jointly by the staff, elected students and trade-union representatives, and the student assembly regularly meets to

discuss the affairs of the university. Two bodies are made up entirely of staff—a management board subject to the authority of the management council and an advisory board.

The training of all teachers specifically to deal with adults and the maintenance of a close rapport between teachers and students are distinctive features of the workers' universities. Courses are continually analysed and assessed. Every class group is watched over by a professionally trained adult educator in addition to the regular teacher, who may well be employed part time. There are also regular programmes of research into workers' education in general and teaching methods in particular.

The originality of workers' universities lies in the high degree of workers' control, the stress upon relating the course content to the vocational and other felt needs of the students, the variety of teaching methods used, the constant surveillance of all activities and, above all, the location of the premises in the world of work.

During recent years it has become fashionable to urge that educational institutions should be democratized:[1]

> Though we strive for common objectives and are united and dedicated to the purpose of educating free men for a dynamic, democratic society, we believe that the programme of any school can best be determined by the people living in that school community with the help of competent, experienced educators and technical personnel having a broad, comprehensive knowledge of educational needs at the local, state and national levels. There are those who contend that all educational programmes should be determined by some central authority either at the state or federal level. We regard such attempts at standardization as unwise and incompatible with the democratic ideal.

It is not always exactly clear what people mean when they talk about democratization. Do they mean that students should effectively run the institutions or that staff and students should run the institutions as equal partners or that staff should consult more openly and frequently with the students or that the staff should be responsible for determining content and methods while the students assume responsibility for all extracurricular activities? A clear answer is called for if feasible arrangements are to be made. Meanwhile it would appear that the democratization of adult education remains essentially unrealized.

What can be affirmed is that the authoritarian posture adopted by many institutions and teachers is not conducive to the kind of creative learning and relevant social service that public authorities[2]

1. Statement by Superintendent of Public Instruction, *State of Michigan, Bulletin*, No. 364.
2. There is an obvious irony in the very use of this phrase. In England and Wales one refers to the local education *authorities*.

claim they wish to encourage. They cannot assume that they know what students want or need to learn or that people themselves are not competent to make judgements about educational matters. The relationship is further complicated by the fact that the *de facto* aims of an institution may be quite different from its declared aims and that the declared aims of the student may not be his real aims. Only through a free and searching exchange of views can the real aims of the students be identified and integrated with those of the staff. Moreover, people gain most benefit from a programme when they can play a part in developing and carrying it out.

In practical terms it is possible to indicate some of the steps required to increase the level of an individual student's participation in organizing his own learning programmes and in helping groups of students to participate in the management of programmes. Perhaps, to begin with, a new terminology is required to replace such key terms as 'education', 'teacher' and 'class', all of which are associated with the orthodox hierarchical structures of educational institutions. Second, students can be invited to take responsibility for planning and running all or parts of extracurricular activities. Third, student representatives should serve on governing bodies and managing committees. Fourth, individual students should as far as possible plan their own pattern of study. Fifth, students should be represented upon adult education development or co-ordination or advisory councils wherever these may be introduced, their main task in such councils being to express the views and reflect the experience of people in the community.

The way adult education programmes are presented and publicly advertised is crucially important. The very choice of language may well pre-determine the socio-cultural characteristics of those who respond. In practice, much publicity gives a false impression about the nature of the programme being offered. It is also often couched in language that is quite incomprehensible to culturally offputting to some sections of society. Many people might well participate in programmes if only the publicity appealed to the imagination as much as to the intellect, if only, that is, they could have a clear perception of what adult education is about in the way, for example, that they perceive sporting events.

In any case, the impact of present publicity is obviously very slight. There is too little of it and its appeal is restricted. Almost all institutions face the promotional problem of how to ensure that people high and low are aware of available facilities.

Some adult education institutions have come to realize that since they are ultimately in competition for people's interests with skilful and aggressive advertisers operating on behalf of commercial clients, their own publicity must be as comprehensive and as sophisticated as they can possibly make it. The result in some localities has been a

striking improvement in the format of prospectuses, leaflets and posters and a resort to large-scale advertising in newspapers by means, for example, of pull-out supplements, on radio and television, by means of billboards and by means of door-to-door distribution of leaflets. The equivalent in many developing countries is the travelling van from which announcements about impending programmes are made by loudhailer.

Some institutions, having begun to look upon the provision of adult education as a consumer service, are now borrowing organizational policies and structures from the world of trade and industry. The word 'marketing' has crept into their vocabularies, bringing with it the implication that programmes should be directly related to express consumer needs and that they should make the same strenuous efforts to build up and retain a satisfied clientele as any commercial enterprise. To assess the nature and scope of demand for adult education they have adopted marketing research techniques. One consequence of this 'marketing' approach has been the creation of advisory services designed to inform would-be participants about the classes and activities they might find beneficial and to ensure that existing participants receive as much guidance as possible. Some municipalities have set up advisory centres to which members of the public may refer questions about any aspect of adult education. Many public authorities have themselves prepared or commissioned another institution to prepare a directory of agencies, courses and general facilities. Some institutions or groups of institutions have established information centres at central points in towns and cities. Making use of a computer, the public authority in Toronto has introduced an elaborate system for advertising all the courses and activities in the metropolitan area. A number of institutions have appointed a full-time public relations officer. Others have given a staff member responsibility for publicity among his other duties. All these initiatives cost money and necessitate restructuring budgets so as to increase the percentage devoted to the promotion of programmes.

Conventional forms of publicity, no matter how comprehensive their net or sophisticated their techniques, are unlikely to draw into adult education programmes the educationally underprivileged. For this section of a population personal contact is probably the only effective means of recruitment. This usually entails invoking the mediation of community leaders, informal groups and societies. The use of community leaders as mediators is commonly recognized in developing countries but, although equally valuable, often overlooked in the more industrialized societies. To be really effective, personal contact may necessitate organizers making telephone calls or calling upon people in their homes.

The importance of personal contacts is illustrated by a recent Swedish experiment. Sweden has set up a Committee on Methods

Testing in Adult Education (FÖVUX) with a view to inducing adults, who have little basic education and who show no apparent inclination to participate in existing programmes, to join specially formed study circles. The key element in the scheme is direct personal approach to individuals.

In the first year of the scheme, trade-union study organizers visited ten work places representing contrasting sections of the economy for the purpose of enrolling students in one of four courses, English, Swedish, mathematics or civics. Would-be students were given three options for study: (a) during work and leisure; (b) during their spare time with the aid of a 300-kronor allowance; (c) during their spare time without an allowance. The courses were entirely free and the students were reimbursed for the cost of travel, meals and child-care. 2,074 or 52 per cent of those contacted expressed a desire to participate and of these rather more than one-half eventually joined a study circle. Two-thirds of the latter duly completed a course. The dropout rate was about the same as that for regular study circle programmes.

According to a report on the first year of the scheme:

> The general run of FÖVUX participants had not studied since leaving the elementary school, but when they were sought out by study organizers who could clear away certain practical difficulties, as well as provide information about and inducements towards adult studies, they made known their intention to begin studying anew. In the Committee's opinion, the recruitment result—52 per cent of those contacted—is remarkably good, especially considering that two-thirds of the participants have not pursued studies since leaving the elementary school.

The recruitment was indeed remarkably good, especially in view of the fact that only four subjects were offered. Even more remarkable was the fact that:[1]

> . . . three-fourths of the participants went on record as planning to continue their studies in the coming year, and that must be considered a very good result.

It may be argued that in all matters to do with the education of adults Sweden is *sui generis* and that this 'outreach' experience would not be paralleled elsewhere. The salient point still remains that within the Swedish social context what looked like a hard core of non-participants did respond in some strength to a direct personal appeal. The scheme is, of course, costly by comparison with regular programmes but, as pointed out above, assisting the educationally underprivileged is bound to be a very costly business.

1. Report prepared for the Tokyo Conference entitled 'A Swedish Experiment in the Outreach Technique'.

Individualizing learning, democratizing institutions and particularizing target groups and individuals, all postulate the need for efficient and extensive guidance and counselling services. At the present time only a few adult education institutions are able to tender advice to individual students. However, the picture is slowly changing. Although few institutions as yet, other than such relatively well-endowed institutions as open universities, have appointed full-time counsellors, there is accumulating evidence that administrators and organizers are resorting to various methods for supplying information to would-be students and helping enrolled students to surmount their difficulties. In Sweden a national advisory telephone service is available day or night and elsewhere advisory services are available at specified times. One sector in which guidance, if not counselling, is becoming well developed is that of occupational training. Aptitude and placement testing for jobs is freely available in several countries and opportunities for vocational training are often advertised through the mass media.

Many would-be and active students are in desperate need of advice not only about what to study but how to study and to overcome the psychological problems that inhibit effective performance. But to assist them is a highly skilled and time-consuming task [1] and would presuppose that the ratio of counsellors to students be high. Given the parlous financial state of most adult education institutions it is just not possible to envisage counsellors being appointed in significant numbers if at all. A partial solution must lie in using more part-time or voluntary assistance and in arranging intensive short training courses on counselling techniques for full-time and para-professional staff.

1. The range of tasks that a counsellor or counsellors might be called upon to perform is considerable: (a) give advice about, and conduct courses on, counselling techniques for professional and para-professional staff, (b) interview persons wishing to enrol; (c) establish and maintain procedures for follow-up of absentees; (d) keep personal folders on each student; (e) be available to deal with the problems of enrolled students; (f) conduct group counselling sessions on such topics as consumer education, health and responsible citizenship; (g) liaise with public or private agencies which can assist the underprivileged; (h) assist students to make the best possible use of each major learning episode.

Chapter 5

Programmes and content

Programmes and content represent such an enormous area of concern that it will be necessary to delimit it, first, by considering programmes designed for the educationally underprivileged and, second, by summarily recording some significant trends in the programmes of adult education agencies. Five types of programmes will be considered: functional literacy; cultural literacy; community development; mass education campaigns and vocational training.

It is now widely accepted that adult literacy programmes in the developing countries have not met with much success, that mass literacy campaigns in particular have involved heavy government expenditures and yet produced relatively little effect. This lack of success can be attributed to some or all of the following factors:

Population growth has exceeded the capacity of available resources to cope with prevailing rates of adult literacy. The result is that the total number of illiterates in the world has actually increased over the last ten years.[1]

Government ministers and other influential leaders have not wished to spend significant sums on suitable programmes.

There is a feeling of apathy in face of what seems a superhuman task which has often paralysed the will to act.

There has been a persistent lack of essential resources—educational planners, teachers, teaching-aids, follow-up materials.

The shortage of appropriate follow-up materials has been notably serious. Mature adults who have struggled painfully to master a limited reading vocabulary and to acquire halting skill in writing react bitterly to the discovery that their hard-won achievement apparently serves no useful purpose. Adult educators and com-

1. See above, p. 62-3.

munity developers know to their cost that a lapsed literate is usually lost to education forever.

There has been a failure, from the ministerial down to the field level, to co-ordinate the policies and activities of the various agencies who deal with social and economic development.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a failure to define clear objectives and hence to devise methods for assessing the value of programmes. Thus, it is difficult to show to sceptics, especially in high office, that a high rate of literacy is a crucial factor in the development process.

At the international level, the realization of the failure of mass literacy campaigns has sunk in. One can trace within Unesco the sure evolution of a pragmatic policy towards the problem of illiteracy, culminating in a decision taken in 1963 to launch an Experimental World Literacy Campaign based upon a deliberately selective strategy. The goals of this realistic strategy and the tactics to be used in putting it into operation were summarized in a statement issued in 1965 following a World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy, meeting at Tehran under the auspices of Unesco.

> Adult literacy, an essential element in overall development, must be closely linked to economic and social priorities and to present and future manpower needs. All efforts should therefore tend towards functional literacy. Rather than an end to itself, literacy should be regarded as a way of preparing man for a social, civic, and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training consisting merely in the teaching of reading and writing.
>
> Literacy teaching should be resolutely oriented towards development, and should be an integral part not only of any national education plans but also of plans and projects for development in all sectors of the national life. In view of mankind's needs today, education can no longer be confined to the school; the necessary promotion of adult literacy makes it essential to integrate all the school and out-of-school resources of each country.
>
> Functional literacy for adults must, moreover, involve the whole of society and not governments only. It demands the co-operation of all the forces in the nation and, in particular, local authorities and communities, educational, scientific and cultural bodies, public and private enterprises, non-governmental organizations, political groups, religious movements, women's organizations, and so on.

Thereafter the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), accepting that literacy was 'an essential element in overall development', helped to finance a number of projects under the rubric of Experimental World Literacy Programmes. The essence of the new approach lies in the determination to treat adult literacy programmes

as an indispensable component of all development plans for social and economic development, and to ensure that the programmes themselves are directly related to the functional needs of the individuals and communities for which they are designed. The utility of skills in reading, writing and simple numbering depends upon having the opportunity to exercise them. Every project undertaken is restricted to a specific area and to the specific development needs of that area. Sixty specific diversified programmes have been started. To take a few examples: two projects in Chile and Ecuador are concerned with agrarian reform; in Sudan a project is associated with a scheme to settle nomadic peoples; in the United Republic of Tanzania with the development of co-operatives. In India, literacy programmes have been integrated into large-scale plans to increase the number of farmers using high-yield grains.

The connotation of the term 'functional literacy' continues to give rise to some misunderstanding. Unesco's earlier definition was as follows:

> The education possessed by a person who has acquired, in the matter of reading and writing, the knowledge to enable him to take an active part in all the undertakings for which the individuals, forming part of the same group, generally agree that education is necessary.

John Bowers, a literacy specialist formerly with Unesco, is not satisfied with that loose definition and suggests that we must always ask the question, literacy specifically for what? He argues that in practice the major Unesco-sponsored pilot experimental programmes are 'work-oriented', so that:

> The term 'functional literacy' has come to mean, not literacy that is functionally related to, or aims to promote, technical/vocational training, but the whole amalgam or combined programme of technical/vocational training-cum-literacy. In other words '*work-oriented functional literacy means technical/vocational training with a literacy component*'. The word 'literacy', of course, has sales value so perhaps the inexactitude can be forgiven, but it gives rise to considerable confusion.
>
> Nor is the picture yet complete, for the Teheran definition speaks also of 'social and civic' education, 'general knowledge' 'understanding of the surrounding world', and 'basic human culture'. And what about health education, nutrition and family planning? *Thus functional literacy comes to mean comprehensive education and training for illiterate and even semi-literate adults, with a literacy component built in.*

That analysis is most helpful but does not entirely remove the confusion. Moreover, the initial stress upon the work-oriented approach is

now regarded as too restrictive. Rather, literacy should be treated as but one element, although the key element, of broadly based educational programmes.[1]

Adults do not become literate in a void. It is no less essential to assist them to approach literacy classes in a determined frame of mind, conscious that the task ahead will demand time and effort, as to ensure that post-literacy programmes are available. In other words, the practice of treating literacy programmes as though they were distinct from other adult education programmes must be abandoned. Pre- and post-literate programmes are required, aimed not only at ensuring acquisition of vocational skills but at enabling adults to arrive at a deeper understanding of the extraneous forces shaping their lives and how to cope with them more effectively.

The critical Tehran Conference in 1965 laid down three preconditions for launching literacy programmes: there must be an adequate supply of the appropriate reading material, an active continuing education programme making full use of the mass media and general educational programmes. To these conditions it is necessary to add the following: specially trained personnel are needed in appropriate numbers with the requisite skills and experience; there must be a high degree of co-ordination of the activities of all the agencies concerned with national and local development—planners, agricultural extension officers, community development officers, health education officers, mass media producers and so on; there must be an abundant supply of teaching aids and primers; particular attention must be paid to the educational needs of women; finally, there must be a thoroughgoing evaluation of each and every scheme. To sum up, it would seem on the evidence of twenty years and more of developing countries trying to break the back of the literacy problem that there are three indispensable desiderata for success: to identify geographical growth points; to integrate learning to read and write with other learning activities; to plan pre- and post-literacy class programmes as part of a total learning package.

It is not uncommon for educationists and other specialists to allege that the Experimental World Literacy Programme was a costly failure. Although those administratively concerned concede that errors were made, both in general and in particular countries, the allegation is very largely unfounded or based on a misconception about the declared aims of the programme. From the very outset it was fully realized that only a small number of men and women would be made literate as a direct result of the experiment but it was intended, justifiably as it turns out, that the lessons derived from trial and error

1. cf. Unesco, *International Consultative Liaison Committee for Literacy, Third Session, Final Report*, p. 2, Paris, June 1972 (Unesco ED/MD/24): 'Adult literacy should not be regarded as an isolated operation but should on the contrary be an integral part of and an interdependent factor in the educational whole.'

could thereafter be applied on an extensive scale. Thus, reading materials tested throughout the projects are now being produced and widely distributed in large quantities. Those few specialists who were trained to implement the projects are now forming high-level cadres for the direction of nation-wide schemes for training specialists. The arrangement of regular field operational seminars for senior personnel, one of the key features of the management of the programmes, has had the multiplier effect of producing a leavening of committed opinion leaders at all levels of society. Finally, the top priority accorded to empirical evaluation, not only for measuring the over-all outcome of each programme but for monitoring day-to-day progress, has furnished an unprecedented quantity of information about aids and obstacles to literacy.[1]

The object of Paolo Freire's social philosophy is to enable the rural and urban poor to become conscious (process of 'conscientization') of the social and environmental forces which determine their mode of life and to become sufficiently motivated and skilful to influence those forces.[2] The chosen instrument to bring about this change is 'cultural literacy', which implies assisting people to become literate—the principal aim of nearly all other programmes for the disadvantaged—by identifying literacy with mastery of cultural 'reality'. This identification is to be brought about by a free dialogue between a co-ordinator (obviously the designation 'teacher' is inappropriate) and a group of learners designed to unravel the social significance of key words germane to the learners' everyday lives.

In Freire's method, the preliminary stage is for the co-ordinator to identify the words most commonly used by the group. This is far more than a mechanical exercise in that the words identified immediately reveal the constant preoccupations, anxieties and aspirations of the group. The second stage is to select specific words which will be discussed in a group dialogue. Selection is made according to three criteria: phonetic richness, phonetic difficulty and word content. When the dialogue itself begins, the easy words are dealt with first, the group moving on progressively to the more difficult words. The next stage is to discuss the actual problems of the participants.

The dialogue itself is sparked off by introducing a 'generator' word such as 'rain', 'food', 'plough' or 'bicycle'. The word *favela*, that is a slum, is particularly evocative since it can generate discussion about a whole range of fundamental needs. A picture of a slum area is then flashed on a screen and considered by the participants.

1. The Experimental World Literacy Programme is about to end and a major evaluation of the total experience is being prepared. For an authoritative, comprehensive and up-to-date description and critical assessment of the programme, see the various contributions to and the conference report of a recent seminar in J. Müller (ed.), op. cit.
2. P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York, 1971.

Only then is the word *favela* flashed on the screen. The word is then divided into its three component syllables and the participants recite sounds associated with each phonetic group, for example, *va*, *ve*, *vi*, *vo*, *vu*. Thereafter they experiment with combinations of the syllables to produce new words such as *vela* (candle). When the co-ordinator considers that the time is ripe, he asks the participants to attempt to write down syllables.

It would appear that the cultural literacy method is higly effective. Within forty-five days or less from the first meeting, participants can generally cope with the rudiments of reading and writing. In Brazil, where Freire initially worked, there were no fewer than 1,300 local centres for learning by his method within one year of a nation-wide programme being launched. The spontaneous reactions of those who have profited from the method bear eloquent witness to the efficacy of this method. For example: 'I was happy because, I discovered I could make words speak'.[1] It is evident that the cultural literacy method cannot be divorced from the possibility of social action since the words and themes discussed by the participants necessarily focus upon those aspects of life which call for change. Are the participants going to stop at discussion? Almost certainly not. The question then arises whether the participants can enter into a free consultation with the public authorities with a view to examining possible reforms. If they cannot, then there may be conflict. The method is clearly most efficacious when the public authorities are themselves keen to encourage or at least are not resistant to community initiatives.

The basic premise of community development programmes reflects this special principle: do not ask what others can do for you but see what you can do for yourselves by yourselves with the minimum of external assistance. There are, of course, many problems and abuses that small communities cannot unilaterally put right because the power of action lies in the hands of local or central government. But if they bend every effort they can usually influence the conditions affecting their lives to a far greater extent than they at first suppose.

The simplest index of ability to influence the social environment is the degree of choice which people exercise over where they live and work or how they spend their leisure. Wherever there is a restricted degree of choice, as in isolated villages and depressed urban areas, there is a high level of dependence upon the public authorities for social and economic betterment. In a typical area the relevant authority is overstretched but the potential contribution which communities might themselves make is either not taken into account or is too unclear to furnish a springboard for action. The purpose of com-

1. Freire, 'The Adult Literacy Process. . . ', op. cit., p. 223.

munity education programmes is to enable communities to formulate their own needs, to identify available resources and take remedial action in so far as they can while drawing the attention of the authority to the measures that it alone is able to take. A practical programme might begin with a self-survey of the community, an examination of living conditions, an analysis of employment openings and a critique of public services.

Community development is a highly effective form of education because it not only forces people to learn but enables them to apply what they learn to actual conditions. It has the further advantage of making people aware that their standard of living does not solely depend upon their earning power but upon the quality of the amenities made available through the resources of the local community.

At the end of Chapter 3 it was stated that a few countries, notably China, Cuba and the United Republic of Tanzania, believe that the only effective solution to the problem of reaching the educationally underprivileged is to conduct a nation-wide campaign supported by all the available organs of information and calling upon the educated to serve as volunteer organizers and teachers. The case of the United Republic of Tanzania may be taken to illustrate the aims and style of this mass education approach. The United Republic of Tanzania is a poor country with a relatively small population inhabiting a vast area. Roughly 95 per cent of the population live in rural areas and the agricultural output is failing to keep abreast of the rapid rise in population. Faced with monumental problems, the country takes pride in the quality of its people and argues that 'self-reliance' will see them through. The mass education campaigns start from the premise that all human beings naturally desire to learn. If they do not learn, the fault lies not with themselves but with their leaders at all levels for failing to be clear about their goals and to communicate meaningful information. Hence, national and community leaders must spread intelligible information about the national goals, focus attention on the desirability of change and encourage the people to participate with them in deciding what action to take.

The *modus operandi* of a campaign is to choose one of the several critical national problems and to stimulate grass-roots discussion about it with a view to detecting what is wrong and proposing remedial measures. The guiding formula is listen/discuss/act. So far there have been five national campaigns entitled successively: 'To Plan is To Choose'; 'The Choice is Yours'; 'Time for Rejoicing'; 'Polititics is Agriculture'; 'Man is Health'. The critical component in the conduct of these mass education campaigns is the local study group which will listen to a half-hour radio programme, study an accompanying printed hand-out, consider the problem in the local context and decide what practical action should be taken. The health campaign, for example, aimed at giving people guidance both about

curing malaria, dysentery, hookworm and bilharzia and adopting the appropriate preventive measures.

Vocational education has two essential purposes. The first is to enable individuals to acquire and keep up to date qualifications which will enable them to earn a decent livelihood. The second is to ensure that the manpower requirements of the national economy can be efficiently satisfied. Until the recent past it was thought sufficient to give each new generation of children a start in working life through training within the formal educational system or through post-school apprenticeship schemes. This is no longer so. Both employers and employees, as well as trade unions, increasingly see the need for extensive training facilities for the established adult work force.

Vocational education for adults will doubtless flourish in the coming years because it can be viewed as a profitable form of capital investment and a possible antidote to unemployment. Two contemporary factors are interacting to highlight its importance: the increasing longevity of men and women and technological obsolescence. Without an institutionalized training system designed to keep skills up to date the numbers of unemployable people will steadily increase. Some countries are already faced with the anomaly of having large pockets of unemployment alongside shortages of skilled labour. Unemployment is depressing for the individual concerned and bad for the economy since instead of contributing to the national output and paying taxes the individual has to be awarded welfare allowances or given food and shelter.

Other reasons may be given for expanding vocational training. One is that adults employed in industry change their jobs from time to time not only because their present skills have become redundant but also to offset the debilitating boredom that sets in when performing the same routine actions day in and day out. Indeed retraining is steadily becoming more common than upgrading. A second reason is that social mobility seems to give some guarantee of economic vitality. At present professional workers tend to change jobs and to move from one centre to another with relative alacrity but by and large manual workers, especially the semi-skilled, tend to be immobile.[1] A third reason, which so far applies to only a few countries, is the belief that pleasant and unpleasant jobs should be shared more equally. Thus intellectuals should spend some of their time working with their hands, as they do in China, and manual workers should be given the opportunity to turn to alternative kinds of occupation.

In several countries, vocational training has become a major governmental concern for two principal reasons: the pursuit of social equality and the need for workers to adapt to changing conditions of employment. A case in point is the Federal Republic of Germany where

1. The special case of immigrants was discussed above page 67.

there are State laws facilitating paid educational leave and occupational mobility. Through all the vicissitudes of international booms and recessions, the Federal Republic of Germany's economy has not ceased to expand for twenty-five years and unemployment has been virtually wiped out. This 'German miracle' is in no small part due to the impact of a comprehensive and enlightened vocational training system for young people and adults. France is one country which has recently adopted a unified policy towards vocational training. Given that in one year no more than 2 per cent of the work force is engaged in training, every French employee is entitled to claim paid leave of absence from his employment in order to undergo training which need not be directly related to his current occupation.

If they are to be socially equitable, three conditions are indispensable for national vocational training schemes. First, they must be available to everyone—to the uneducated as much as to the educated. This implies the existence of an efficient and nation-wide counselling service. Secondly, paid educational leave must be a right enshrined in law and not an option controlled by employers. Thirdly, those undergoing training require a subsidy not only for themselves but for their families. The Federal Republic of Germany pays 70 per cent of the last wage earned before training, and Australia pays $75 per week, that is slightly above the legal minimum wage.

The tendency to treat recurrent vocational training for adults as a norm is obviously to be welcomed. However, two caveats must be recorded. First, vocational instruction unaccompanied by some general education may be weakened even in relation to its own objectives. The second caveat concerns the effects of national vocational training schemes on other aspects of adult education. There is a danger that governments and employers will consider that they have done more than their duty by providing funds for the former without having to subsidize the latter as well. Some countries and some professional adult education groups within countries are alive to this danger. But the main concern remains how to exploit an adult's interest in furthering his career so as to benefit his all-round personal development and his community.

It is possible to make three generalizations about the vast range of agencies currently making provision for adult education. The first is that their total number is rapidly increasing. The second is that most new agencies have been established to offer a specific type of programme, especially in the occupational training sector. The third generalization is that in many countries the preponderance of programmes is now offered by public rather than private agencies.

Numerically, the most striking advance has been made by agencies providing second-chance (or equivalency) formal education programmes. In the developing countries such programmes usually concentrate upon primary education whereas in the more developed

countries the emphasis is upon secondary and university-level education. Mostly, the demand for school equivalence courses comes from individuals but in certain countries governments are vigorously promoting equivalency programmes. In the U.S.S.R., for example, where it is believed that a close correlation exists between the level of education attained by the work force and the level of economic production, there has been a major drive since the beginning of the sixties to multiply secondary-level general education courses in evening and correspondence schools. The courses offered are intensive, requiring the participants to attend institutions for twenty hours a week, fifteen hours being spent in the classroom and five hours in individual consultations with staff and in written exercises. The reasons commonly given for encouraging formal education equivalency programmes include a shortage of full-time as opposed to part-time places, the inequitable opportunities available in schools and the realization that many people are late developers who did not reveal their true ability when at school. In the great majority of countries, the provision of formal education at the primary and secondary levels is chiefly the responsibility of the regular school system.

Although a good many universities continue to play little or no part in the education of adults, there is no question that the detachment of universities from community concerns is in general much less pronounced than in former years. The provision of part-time higher education courses, long established in the U.S.S.R., the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, North America and Australia, is now being forced upon the universities of Western Europe and developing countries by pressure both from government and public opinion. In several countries, 'open' universities have been inaugurated to enable adults to obtain a university degree by means of part-time study. In addition, the majority of universities now offer a wide range of specialized professional courses at the undergraduate and post-graduate levels. Among other innovations in the adult education provision of universities it is worth singling out the introduction in several American institutions of liberal arts degree courses expressly designed for adults.

Many special departments for organizing an adult education service (extension or extramural departments) have been established in universities since 1960. Moreover, both the amount of provision and the general efficiency of adult education departments appear to have increased. The improvement in efficiency stems partly from the employment of larger and more qualified staffs and partly from the adoption of sophisticated administrative methods.

A criticism still persistently levelled at universities in some countries is that they serve only the higher socio-economic groups. While the available evidence does seem to substantiate this charge, many universities are also desperately keen to apply at least some of their

resources to community-oriented projects. Thus, in North America there is a strong move to help local communities solve their practical problems. In other countries there are abundant examples of university teachers, singly or in groups, applying their knowledge and skills to the public service. Furthermore, there has been a palpable shift of emphasis within university extension and extra-mural departments towards programmes designed for social and professional groups rather than for individuals. It is ironic that the community element in much university extension work is often hidden from the public eye by the very popularity of the academic type of programme. Without necessarily sacrificing their academic programmes in the slightest degree, quite a number of universities now conscientiously allocate resources to the service of the educationally underprivileged either by means of direct provision or by undertaking action or applied research projects.[1]

Agricultural extension agencies are among the most obviously successful of all adult education agencies. This, of course, is because they pursue the practical goal of improving farming efficiency. In the past, agricultural extension activities were centred on telling farmers what to do in order to increase yields. More recently, farming has been treated as one aspect of a way of life and efforts have been made to deal with the general social, economic and cultural needs of farmers and their families. Demonstrations in the home such as cooking and making clothes are increasingly being carried out by female extension officers. Advisory work among young people has also become an important function of extension services. Young people are encouraged to join 4H or Young Farmers' Clubs and to participate in simple agricultural projects in the hope that they will make a career of farming. In a few developing countries there has been a switch in emphasis from the missionary work of the field officer to intensive training courses arranged at strategically located centres.

In a number of developing countries, improving the efficiency of co-operatives, especially in the rural areas, has become a top priority. Both Malaysia and the United Republic of Tanzania, for example, have taken great pains to organize systematic courses for co-operative officials and honorary officers. In 1970, Kenya established a national co-operative college as a training centre for co-operative officials and members of local societies.

To generalize about the educational work of trade unions in a world context is not possible since in some countries they still concentrate upon the professional training of their own paid-up members in such subjects as collective bargaining, labour relations and office

1. For a brillant analysis of the contemporary role of universities in adult education see M. Huberman, *Renovation in Higher Education: Dynamics of Interaction between the University and Adult Education*, ICUAE, August 1970.

management while in other countries they not only provide for the general education and culture of their own members but also offer programmes for the public at large and actively campaign for the betterment of national educational and cultural facilities. Two general features of trade union education can, however, be noted: the first is the increasing complexity of the subjects studied; the second is the growing practice of sending officials destined for high office to attend short and long courses at universities and centralized institutions. It is also noteworthy that many trade unions and virtually all federations of trade unions, both at national and international level, now employ full-time education specialists and many are steadily building up education departments.

In a very large number of countries the military services now make an important contribution to the education of adults by teaching illiterate recruits how to read and write and by imparting skills not only necessary for military performance but also relevant to future civilian occupations. Several countries, including Bolivia, Iran and Israel, use the armed forces to implement literacy and rural development schemes in rural areas. These and other countries also use the period of compulsory national service as a means of applying the energy, intelligence, knowledge and skills of young people to various types of community service. Some countries have instituted national youth corps, organized on para-military lines, in which young people spend one or two years attending general education classes, learning a trade and working in teams on such national projects as road building.

A new social concern is the education and training of men and women in prisons. The old view that prison life should be harsh and punitive is yielding to the view that reformation is a far more important objective than punishment. Despite the constraints, many prison authorities now offer vocational training for the great majority of prisoners who lack occupational skills in order that upon release they will have some prospect of obtaining a satisfying job, and academic courses designed to improve their educational qualifications. Many prisoners are now encouraged to take correspondance courses.

It is not original to suggest that librairies, museums and art galleries should serve not merely as repositories for books, old artefacts and pictures but that they should play a positive educational role. Moreover, there have always been librarians and curators who saw themselves as educators. What is novel about the period since 1960 is the revolution in the layout of many librairies, museums and art galleries, and the number and variety of schemes for linking their activities more closely with those of adult educational and social agencies. Besides lending books, many libraries now also lend slides, reproductions of pictures and tapes. Many libraries, museums and art galleries have also become lively cultural centres.

Many educational programmes are not sponsored by adult education agencies as such but by agencies for which education is a secondary function. For example, in conducting their surveys the ICED teams were greatly impressed by the widening scope of the education provided by religious groups, among which they particularly noted the Buddhist Wats, Moslem Mosques and the Coptic Church of Ethiopia.

Although there is much talk about the need to revise the content of adult education programmes so that it may be immediately relevant to the daily concerns of individual learners, there is discouraging evidence that the weight of tradition still prevails. One critic has observed that in general adult education in Latin America:[1]

> . . . has been confined to the provision of primary education in night schools for adult workers, with curricula and methods little adapted to the characteristics of adults.

At the same time, some interesting developments in course content are taking place. In the more developed countries, education in health and nutrition has traditionally been left to the schools. By contrast, in developing countries health education is regarded as an essential component of educational programmes for adults, though more often than not responsibility for providing it lies with the health service rather than with adult education agencies. In a good many countries, educational methods are used to spread information about sensible nutritional habits. In Iran, young people who have completed their medical studies are sent, during their period of military service, to serve in local communities in order to care for health needs, to give instruction about sanitation and hygiene and generally to improve the living environment.

Information and advice about family planning so as to permit couples to make rational decisions about family size and to make use of suitable family planning methods are now given by many government agencies as well as by voluntary associations. Success in dealing with the problem of excessive population growth depends above all on adults coming to realize that the quality of their lives is impaired by over-population and that the size of families can be determined by individual choice.

Consumer education is rapidly expanding. Its object is to help consumers make wise and economical purchases and to become familiar with their legal rights. Many consumer protection groups which started out with a relatively narrow aim have turned their attention to other problems such as safety on the roads, pollution of the environment and destruction of the landscape through rash and uncontrolled planning. Most of these groups arrange informal educa-

1. Irma Salas, 'Education in Latin America between its Past and its Future', *Prospects*, Vol. III, No. 1, Spring 1973, p. 71.

tion programmes for their members and many invite adult education agencies to organize appropriate courses and seminars on their behalf.

Recent years have seen the formation of many local, regional and national groups dedicated to arousing direct parental interest in the education provided for their children. Parent-teacher associations, formerly most strongly entrenched in North America and the U.S.S.R., have mushroomed in many countries. Japan now has 45,607, with a total membership of 19 million. One of the major socio-political objectives of the Federal Republic of Germany for the seventies is to ensure that parents are capable of giving their children full compensatory education at home. In some countries, courses are provided for the parents and relatives of subnormal or autistic children and many parents of deaf children learn lip-reading and finger-spelling. Some mothers are being trained to take charge of play groups for children under school age or out of school.

In Western Europe and North America many groups and associations have been formed to tackle the problems of the retired and those about to retire. Here the role of adult education is both to help ageing people come to terms with their changing physical, economic and social positions and to give them opportunities to participate in stimulating programmes preferably designed for all age groups.

Within recent years the literature of adult education has been crammed with enjoinders about the cardinal necessity of evaluating programmes in a systematic fashion for the sake not only of improving internal efficiency but also of showing to sceptical officials in government departments that adult education institutions are competently managed and worth financing. Yet there can be little doubt that the overwhelming majority of institutions make no convincing attempt to assess the effectiveness of their programmes, even in terms of their own objectives. Still less is there any attempt to calculate social or economic benefits.[1]

> Not surprisingly (for this is a general condition in education), we found few instances where any serious and systematic attempt had been made to assess—even roughly—a programme's internal efficiency (cost-effectiveness), much less its beneficial social and economic impact in relation to the investment made in it (cost-benefit relationship).

The success or failure of programmes is generally crudely determined by counting heads according to the hoary formula of how many people took part and how many dropped out. Similarly the performance of an organizer or teacher is often judged by the number of people whom he contrives to keep under his wing.

Those who urge the necessity of conducting more systematic

1. Coombs *et al.*, op. cit., p. 71.

evaluation of adult education programmes are entirely justified. Properly instituted, an evaluation exercise first necessitates clarifying objectives. This can be extremely salutary since objectives are often not questioned from one year to another and often turn out to be based on outdated assumptions or on hidden assumptions that are not acceptable. Then, evaluation of past performance is the surest way of avoiding future errors and thus of economizing on effort and expenditure.

To evaluate a programme is notoriously difficult because so many variables have to be taken into account. The degree of sophistication will manifestly depend upon the human and instrumental resources that can be brought to bear and in particular upon the professional expertise of the administrator or organizer directly in charge, a fact which points up the need for evaluation techniques to be included in the curriculum of professional training programmes. Where there is a co-ordinated national or regional system of adult education it is obviously desirable to establish a central evaluation unit which can both tender advice on request and also carry out objective evaluations of selected programmes from outside.

The drawback to treating such a large theme as structures and programmes within an international perspective, as in the present and preceding chapter, is that one must be arbitrarily selective and ignore myriad examples of pioneering ventures, many of which enjoy only a transient existence. For the guidance of policy-makers and practitioners, it is essential that information about such ventures should be widely disseminated:[1]

> In looking for points of entry, special attention should be given to indigenous micro innovations. There are the too often neglected local departures from conventional educational practice in which a pioneering teacher, principal, district supervisor, or even group of students, is using an approach which offers progress along one or more desirable vectors. Indigenous innovations with learning potential may have developed outside the formal educational system—in an employing establishment, in a club or association such as a co-operative.

Who will assume this important function, within and between countries? This is a question to which all those concerned with the welfare of adult education must address themselves as a matter of urgency.[2]

1. W. J. Platt, 'The Faure Report: A Turning Point in Educational Planning', *Science and Man in the Americas*, p. 13 (Technical Symposium, No. 15, Mexico City, 29 June 1973).
2. See also below p. 127-9.

Chapter 6

Methods and materials

The Montreal Conference had very little to say about adult learning problems and teaching methods:[1]

> Much was done at Montreal to clarify ideas about the scope and nature of adult education, to define its new tasks, and to make positive proposals for its organization both at national and international level. On the other hand, an examination of the recommendations made in connection with teaching methods in adult education reveals little that is new or exciting.

By contrast, one of the two commissions appointed at the Tokyo Conference was primarily concerned with new methods and techniques of communication with special reference to the mass media. The reasons for this changed emphasis are not far to seek. In proportion as adult education becomes more closely associated with social and economic goals and especially with vocational training there is a consequent demand for a higher degree of professionalism in the definition of objectives, programme and course design, materials design and programme and methods evaluation. This demand is clearly incompatible with incompetent teaching and makeshift learning environments. Simultaneously, it is widely recognized that mass, or at least large-scale, adult education is financially and structurally impossible without maximum exploitation of the mass media and the full resources of educational technology.

In considering the methods and techniques of communication and the materials currently employed in adult education one is instantly faced with a paradox. On the one hand, the field has been responsible for as much if not more experimentation than the formal education system and has pioneered certain methods such as the group dis-

1. Hely, op. cit., p. 108.

cussion now in general use. On the other hand, it appears that the minor revolution that has begun to transform the customary teacher-pupil relationship and to change the learning environment in many schools and universities has not significantly affected the methods and techniques used by the majority of adult education agencies, except for those engaged in some sectors of occupational training where innovations in instructional methods are in vogue and technological devices are freely used. Orthodox teaching methods still prevail. In the realm of theory a great deal is written about what ought to be done[1] and in the realm of action original methods are constantly being tried but on a small scale and with no fanfare. The challenge is how to make such innovations generally known.[2]

The method of instruction which still dominates adult education practice is oral teaching in the classroom. At its best this method has demonstrated its effectiveness for long enough but alone it cannot possibly cope with the surging and varied demand for learning opportunities. As is frequently pointed out, it is a labour intensive and therefore costly method and there can never be enough teachers and classrooms to meet all requirements. In any case, many learning needs cannot be satisfied by classroom instruction. Then, adults today share with the young a desire for variety in teaching methods especially if they retain grim recollections of the classroom. Finally, many adults are unable to attend classes for a multitude of reasons. It has accordingly become necessary to devise alternative learning systems for the many situations in which classroom instruction is impracticable.

In essence alternative learning systems are of two kinds: those which focus upon the learner working alone as far as possible or in groups with other learners and those which assume a distance between the media employed and the learner. The first might be regarded as a micro-approach and the second as a macro-approach. It is proposed in the first part of this chapter to discuss first the micro-level and then the macro-level.

1. cf. S. Bolanos, *Recent Education and Training in Latin America*, Unesco (Ed. 731 Conf. 506 11?, 1973): '. . . this would appear to be the heart of the matter—the most noteworthy achievements have taken place on the intellectual level and to a much lesser extent in the area of actions and accomplishments.'
2. Lack of publicity about instructional innovations in adult education practice no doubt accounts for the following criticism which is largely justified *after* the opening sentence: 'To date, adult education has not been an innovative area in pedagogy. Adults of different ages, capacities and backgrounds have been instructed as a homogeneous block or, still worse, taught by teachers of primary and secondary schools using inappropriate techniques: learning by rote and memorisation, lecturing without "feedback" from the audience, use of reading materials for school-age children, evaluation on the basis of verbal and written skills alone. Almost uniformly, researchers find that organisers of programmes in continuing education underrate the capacities of their clientele.' A. M. Huberman, *Permanent Education: Some Models of Adult Learning and Change*, op. cit., p. 45.

Whatever the level of the learning situation, the starting point is to ascertain the motivation, needs, interests and competence of the learners,to define the learning objectives accordingly, and to select suitable methods and techniques. This seems a self-evident approach but the evidence shows that it is rarely adopted. As indicated above in Chapter 2 the normal practice is still to treat the participants in a programme or course as an undifferentiated mass and consistently to use traditional teaching methods, often directly replicating those practised in the schools.

It is easy to tender the advice that each individual and each group should be treated as unique and that a set of methods tailored to his or her unique needs should be devised. It is equally easy to recommend that in every teaching/learning situation no single method is likely to be appropriate for the entire experience but rather that different stages and aspects require different treatment; even in the course of a single hour it is often desirable to use more than one method: the classical switch from lecture to group discussion is merely the simplest example of combining two or more methods. Easy, indeed, to tender advice but immensely difficult to see that it is followed, for here we are concerned with a problem of changing teaching styles that can ultimately be resolved only at grass-roots level. Conferences, at the national or even regional level, can recommend that more imaginative teaching methods be invoked and senior administrators can issue orders but they can rarely guarantee the desired response. This explains why audio-visual aids may be available in adequate quantities but inadequately or seldom or never used and why even when special radio and television programmes are available, teachers may ignore them. The fact that this is a grass-roots problem may also account for the reticence about teaching methods that is often found at major conferences and that Hely noted at Montreal. The solution must lie, as indicated in the previous chapter, in ensuring that special training courses are provided for all those teaching adults in one capacity or another, that the internal communications system of adult education works effectively and that adequate supporting services are made available.

At the micro-level the most striking recent developments can be reduced to three: the rapid spread of small group methods; attempts to enable each learner to work alone; the application of educational technology. All three developments presuppose maximum activity by the learner and minimum intervention by the teacher.

Learning in small groups is a long established practice, especially in North America and the Scandinavian countries, where the study circle is a revered institution. But it is only recently that the value of group learning has been widely and fully appreciated not only as an alternative to the talk or lecture as a way of acquiring information or solving problems but, more importantly, as a means of enabling

individuals to become more aware of their own behaviour and values and their relations with other people.[1] Group theorists make certain assumptions: adults do not learn only by knowing facts; change in any part of a group changes the group as a whole; individuals in a group learn from one another; leadership is the property of the whole group; in group situations individuals may gain from the fact that they are stimulated to behave out of character. The guiding principle is that group interaction leads to changes in individual behaviour. From such assumptions it can be seen that learning in groups tallies with the progressive objective of transforming the role of teacher from that of an omniscient dispenser of truth to that of a leader or counsellor who helps the group to clarify its goals. The abundant research on group learning appears to justify the enthusiasm with which many educationists support it. At the same time, some of its leading advocates may have carried their zeal too far by implying that there is no other way of learning effectively. The result is that group methods are adopted indiscriminately when other methods would serve better. Moreover, many institutions and teachers which swear by group methods simply do not know how to use them.

Some educationists have been attempting for a long time to draw attention to the needs of the autonomous or independent learner.[2]

> A recurrent theme in the literature of adult education is the desirability of the self-propelled learner who does not need to be dependent on an instructor or a group or an institution.

It is only very recently, however, that any serious efforts have been made to assist the independent learner.[3] The delay has been due partly to a lack of concern on the part of institutions and partly to a lack of resources with which to help him. The rapid development of educational technologies now makes it theoretically possible to extend help in a variety of ways, specially by means of programmed instruction, computer assisted instruction and audio-tutorial systems. The independent learner requires access to learning aids and knowledge of how to use them. He may also require assistance in learning how to study.

As argued above, the need for an extensive application of educational technology is due, even in the richest of countries, to the practical difficulty of meeting even a fraction of the contemporary demand for education by means of a direct teacher/student relationship. At both the micro- and macro-level a variety of teaching methods and

1. cf. L. R. Beach, 'Self-Directed Student Groups and College Learning', *Higher Education*, Vol. 3, No. 2, April 1974, p. 187: 'We are realizing something of the power and potential which lie in the resources of a small group of intelligent adults thrown into close, continuing encounter with one another.'
2. H. L. Miller, *Teaching and Learning in Adult Education*, p. 203, New York, 1964.
3. Not only for the adult but throughout all levels of education; see J. E. Duane (ed.), *Individualized Instruction Programs and Materials*, New Jersey, 1973.

technological devices has become indispensable. Educational technology must be one of the most abused phrases in the whole vocabulary of education, a common error being to treat it as synonymous with hardware, that is, with audio-visual aids. It is also, as *Learning to Be* emphasizes, insufficiently used. In fact, the rationale of educational technology is that every possible human skill and artefact should be deliberately and methodically put at the disposal of the learner. Madison sums up its purpose as:[1]

> ... the development, application and evaluation of systems, techniques and aids to improve the process of human learning.

The range of mechanical devices now on manufacturers' lists is enormous and the quality of design does not cease to improve. Indeed, the quantity of learning aids far outstrips the capacity of adult education agencies to absorb them, except in such technologically advanced countries as the United States and even there the signs are that administrators and teachers would like a temporary if not permanent surcease to their output. The truth is that new learning aids are used only by those who are trained and conditioned to use them. The impact of educational technology will thus remain slight even in highly industrialized countries unless administrators and teachers are specially trained to take advantage of them and unless there is general curriculum reform. Countries with a low level of indigenous technology and little or no external purchasing power simply cannot afford to use most of the devices at present on the market.[2]

The suggestion is sometimes made that the reason why so many teachers totally ignore or speak contemptuously about the false mystique of educational technology is that they are fearful that conventional instructional methods are going to be abandoned and that they will become redundant. The suggestion is probably well founded, although it must be said that there is surprisingly little firm evidence about teachers' attitudes to innovation. It is accordingly necessary that key administrators and leaders of the teaching profession become aware that, far from abolishing the teacher, the use of instructional media makes his role more creative and varied by freeing him from the chains of routine and enabling him to concentrate upon the most effective way of assisting each learner.[3] As has been said, the teacher

1. J. Madison, *New Trends in Educational Technology and Industrial Pedagogy*, p.14, Antwerp, 1971.
2. It has also to be borne in mind that repair and maintenance charges can be very high and that in countries where there is a shortage of trained technicians and manufacturers' servicing facilities, a device which breaks down may well have to be written off for good.
3. cf. 'The old method of a single teacher with a limited number of pupils at various levels of educational achievement that was developed for the rural schools of America has been reintroduced to provide learning opportunities

becomes an adviser rather than a direct dispenser of knowledge and in that new capacity he is likely to spend more not less time with students but now helping them to specify their goals and to choose a programme for attaining them. Indeed, the outstanding virtue of the technological approach is that it takes into full account the actual process of learning and for each learning episode designs the appropriate curriculum and instructional methods. It also makes possible the isolation of each learner's particular needs, aptitudes and abilities so that whether he regularly attends an institution or works largely independently the appropriate schedule can be prepared. All this presupposes, of courses, that a full range of instructional media is available to the learner.

Instructional media may be designed like the overhead projector to make instruction more efficient, or like the tape recorder to be controlled either by the teacher or by the student, or like the programmed text to be controlled by the learner. Leaving aside for the moment mass communications devices and reading materials, aids to good instruction potentially include overhead projectors, tape recorders, video tape recorders (VTRs), language laboratories, closed-circuit television, slides, photographs. Aids to the learner potentially include tape recorders, VTRs, colour cassette VTRs, programmed learning machines and texts, cassettes, and computer consoles. In most learning situations one would expect the teacher to be in direct control for considerably less time than the learner himself, as in the language laboratory where the teacher intervenes only when someone is in difficulties.

As an illustration of the utility of the new learning aids let us take closed-circuit television (CCTV). As a rule, broadcast television is aimed at a heterogeneous audience, usually viewing at home in family groups. When the target is a mass audience, as it nearly always is, there is pressure on the broadcasters to restrict the amount of time devoted to minority educational interests. By contrast the audience for closed-circuit television is certain to want a particular programme. Television becomes a medium that can be manipulated for self-or group-observation. Moreover, through the use of VTR it is possible to record, replay and criticize selected 'mass audience' programmes. Thus, one of the drawbacks of broadcast television—its ephemerality—is brought under the educator's control. Another valuable function of CCTV is to weaken or dispel the mystique of television, since there is a transferred impact on attitudes towards broadcast television. The student

for illiterate or undereducated adults. This method has been augmented and supplemented with the new educational technology including programmed materials and texts as well as mechanical devices, readers, pacers, video tape recorders, magnetic recorders, and in some instances, computer-based instruction.'—Evidence submitted by the United States for the Tokyo Conference.

is enabled to adopt a more critical attitude based upon technical knowledge.

A brief catalogue of learning aids was listed above in order to make three points. The first is that administrators and teachers cannot be expected to make wise and economical purchases without specialist advice. Secondly, the bold application of educational technology to instruction within institutions presupposes that buildings be properly equipped and highly adaptable The third point is that many learners, but above all independent learners, require access at random to learning aids outside the normal instructional setting, besides assistance from the mass media, which are discussed below. This means that borrowing facilities must be freely available to them either through educational institutions or libraries or a specially created agency. Alternatively or additionally it might mean the installation of learning resource centres.

At the present time there are in the world very few full-fledged learning resource centres. What do exist in considerable numbers are small-scale facilities within institutions othetwise mainly consisting of classrooms for face-to-face learning. This is scarcely surprising in view of the general shortage of accommodation specifically designed for adult learners. It cannot realistically be expected that adults in most countries will have access to learning resources until these become available in the school and other buildings shared by adult education agencies. Meanwhile, it is no problem to prescribe the facilities which a learning resource centre might offer. These should include the full range of aids enumerated above—particularly large numbers of programmed learning texts and machines—available at any time day or night to a student who makes a prior appointment. A number of local government authorities have opened community workshops where adults who do not attend a regular class can attend at almost any hour of the day to pursue a particular interest. The Freizeitheim in Hanover contains music, metalwork and wood-work rooms. Usually a non-teaching supervisor is available to offer practical advice on request. Other centres contain a theatre and rooms where it is possible to experiment with design; a few even contain light engineering areas.

At this point in time, when for many countries the establishment of learning resource centres must be regarded as a far-away prospect, there are a few countries in which sophisticated devices will probably soon become omnipresent. In the United States, for example, it is envisaged that in the near future each home will become a miniature learning resource centre with a transistor radio for every member of the family, a television set in every room, a VTR, tape recorders, a computer terminal and a device for recording television programmes by remote control.

The American prospect of learning resources in the home may be considered by most other countries as 'futurist'. For their part, materially poor countries do have it in their power however to promote

the education of every one of their inhabitants, if not in his own home at least in his community, by a calculated direction of the actual and potential instruments of mass communication at their disposal. Some years ago J. M. Trenaman drew a conclusion about the impact of mass communications that is as valid for other countries as it is for the United Kingdom:[1]

> Only a very small minority in the population is actively engaged in any kind of social or cultural activity. But the organs of communication on a mass scale—radio, the press, the cinema, gramophone recordings and the public library service—have within recent years expanded simultaneously and to a remarkable degree, so that today they reach almost every member of the community. In the space of only a few years, the new informal media have far outstripped in extent of communication the traditional methods of the class tutor. The total effect of this revolution in communication is surely no less significant socially than the invention of writing, or printing by means of movable type.

So far we have been discussing learning situations in which learners have physical access to, and choose to make use of, the instructional facilities of nearby institutions. Increasingly it is becoming possible for adults to study at a distance from an institution by means of correspondence and other media.

Several advantages are justly claimed for distance teaching methods: they are flexible; they reduce unit costs because fewer teachers are required; they do not discriminate among learners; each learner can proceed at his own pace; a wide range of subjects can be covered. Distance teaching is particularly valuable to people living in remote places, serving in the armed forces or working on shifts. It is also a godsend to those who are too shy to attend classes.

The key role in distance methods teaching is played by the correspondence method, which in recent years has experienced a phenomenal growth. Education by correspondence has come to have a special appeal for a number of developing countries because, when well organized, it can be very effective and because it is more economical than other forms of instruction. Realization of its utility has been widely broadcast thanks to two developments: first, the creation of the International Association of Correspondence Schools; secondly, the detailed study undertaken in 1966 by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation concerning the potentialities of correspondence education in five African countries and, subsequently, the organization in Stockholm of two intensive training courses for African adult educators whose governments had agreed to launch appropriate programmes.[2]

1. Trenaman, op. cit., p. 185.
2. See: L. O. Edström, R. Erdos and R. Prosser (eds.), *Mass Education: Studies in Adult Education and Teaching by Correspondence in Some Developing Countries*, Stockholm, 1970.

Correspondence course departments or sub-units of existing adult education departments now exist in Kenya, Malawi, Sudan, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. Meanwhile, in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Eastern Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, the volume of correspondence course work has increased spectacularly. In India, the University of Delhi started a programme in 1968 which now caters annually for thousands of students.

In the past, correspondence courses were held in low esteem in orthodox educational circles[1] for two reasons; first, teaching by correspondence was assumed to be incompetent; second, correspondence courses were very largely managed by commercial firms who were alleged to be more concerned about profits than about academic standards. Today there are few educationists who would not concur that correspondence courses can be not only economical but highly efficacious. It is fitting to note that Aristotle taught at least one distinguished pupil by correspondence. Anxiety continues to be felt, however, about the probity and efficiency of many agencies currently supplying training courses. For instance:[2]

> In the Federal Republic of Germany, almost all private correspondence institutes are the result of private enterprise and still remain in private hands; the obvious inference is that those running them are guided mainly by the profit motive and only secondarily by the interests of their students. However, if it is to be integrated into the educational system, correspondence teaching run by private bodies must be concerned primarily with the interests of the student, i.e. those of the community. This implies that there should grow up among correspondence institutes a fair competition for the student's custom, each college vying with the others to offer him a greater variety of subjects from which to choose and better quality tuition. Unfortunately, competition of this sort will not come about unaided, for in business—which is what correspondence education is—the economic factor is the all powerful.
>
> In 1965, Gisela Oehlert from Frankfurt published a sensational report on correspondence teaching in the German weekly, *Der Spiegel*. She argues that the problem is not so much the fact that thousands of students who fail, every year, despite their best efforts, to complete the course are relieved of their hard-earned money which they have to pay in exchange for a 'service' in an agreement not subject to cancellation. In her view rather, the real problem is that, once they have been taken in this way, such students will always fight shy of any offers of further education.

1. Not everywhere; in Sweden, correspondence courses have been established solidly for a long time (see, for example, G. Gadden, *Hermods 1898–1973*, Malmö, 1973).
2. H. Günter Haagmann, *Correspondence Schools in the Federal Republic of Germany*, p. 6–7, Stuttgart, 1968.

Recognizing the pedagogical importance of correspondence courses and the damage that may be inflicted by incompetent tutoring, several governments have taken steps to issue regulations governing the conduct of correspondence course agencies and prescribing the standards to which they must adhere. Thus, the Netherlands Parliament has passed the Correspondence Education Act 1972 in order to ensure supervision over teachers and course materials and to disbar agencies which fall below the requisite standard.

Correspondence courses are most effective when combined with other teaching methods in the multi-media systems described below. It should be noted, however, that there are some things which they cannot do such as teaching practical skills, that they predicate a fairly high level of literacy and that no further expansion of correspondence courses should take place before the appropriate logistical back-up is assured, especially an adequate supply of skilled course designers and course teachers. In a recent work Professor Wedell has pointed out that correspondence courses in Western Europe are being developed ahead of declared need and that such developments ought to wait upon more reliable research findings.[1]

At the Tokyo Conference it was agreed that the potential value of television and radio as an instructional, educational and educative[2] force was immense but that the present realization falls far short of what is desirable.[3]

> Thanks to the rapid technological development of modern means of communication, it had now become possible to reach far larger numbers of people than anyone had imagined even a few years ago. To the mass media a major role should be ascribed in arousing among people everywhere an awareness of the common social, economic and cultural forces affecting their way of life. The media could provide not only formal instruction but valuable information and cultural enrichment.
>
> Yet almost nowhere had the full potential of the mass media been enlisted in the service of adult education. On the contrary, the media were often used for anti-educational purposes. The basic problems were how to exploit the media with a view to extending educational opportunities, how to reduce costs

1. E. G. Wedell, *The Place of Education by Correspondence*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1970.
2. A rough distinction can be drawn between three types of programmes, the *instructional* (offering preparation for an examination or qualification of some kind, or similar intensive and limited studies, including training for a skill), the *educational* (explicitly aimed at encouraging serious attention and study in the field of liberal education, sustained over a period, but without concern for qualifications), and the *educative* (covering a wide range of programmes which to a greater or lesser extent enlarge the knowledge or understanding of the viewer without necessarily calling for a serious study).
3. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 29.

> without lowering the quality of learning and management of the educational process.

It is also noticeable that specialists whith first-hand experience of the uses of the mass media in rural areas of developing countries have reached opposite conclusions about their impact. In an article that appeared in 1973 it was pointed out that: [1]

> To the planners' dismay, early experiences with the mass media in rural education revealed that rural people preferred popular music to new agricultural programmes and soap operas to health programmes. It was discovered that simply reaching rural audiences with information was not in itself a sufficient means to foster social change.

The authors of that quotation add that though only a minuscule amount of direct extension (that is face-to-face teaching) takes place, it is far more successful. Yet another cautionary note is sounded by T. Dodds: [2]

> There is a danger, however, that disappointment with the achievements of face-to-face teaching and the glamour of the mass media will lead educators to underplay the former and place all their hopes in the latter. There is already ample evidence, both from the so-called developed world and from a few communications studies in the under-developed world, that the mass media by themselves are not enough for good teaching. They are nearly all one-way channels, and there is a spatial gap and often a time lag between communicators and the audience. Thus they tend to be impersonal and offer no way whereby the 'teachers' can respond spontaneously to the individual needs and problems of their 'students'.

By contrast with the above views, the authors of the ICED report on the education of children and young people maintain that the mass media can be highly efficacious and that face-to-face extension work is to be ruled out because it is far too costly to finance on a significant scale.[3] This is also the view of I. Waniewicz.[4]

> The difficulties involved in the efficient use of the communication media for adult education purposes can by no means be neglected. However, the experience of many countries has already proven that it is possible for the mass media, and in particular for radio and television broadcasting, to provide for the necessary breakthrough, or as some like to call it, the 'technological' breakthrough,

1. R. Hornik, J. K. Mayo and E. G. McAnany, 'The Mass Media in Rural Education' in Foster and Sheffield (eds.), op. cit., p. 72.
2. T. Dodds, *Multi-Media Approaches to Adult Education*, p.9–10, Cambridge, 1972.
3. cf. also: ICED, op. cit., p. 138–9; '... it is clear that existing extension efforts can have only a slight impact on the conditions of rural life. Critics of the existing situation insist new ways must be found to diffuse the information that is vitally needed in rural areas'— Hornik *et al.*, op. cit., p. 76.
4. I. Waniewicz, *Broadcasting for Adult Education*, p. 14, Paris, Unesco, 1972.

> which would alleviate if not solve many problems and obstacles, which would otherwise require decades to overcome.

This view is endorsed by H. Oeller, television director of Bayerischer Rundfunk, in a recent publication.[1]

> There can be no doubt that television and radio combined with traditional styles of teaching and learning are just as effective—or even more effective in certain fields of application —as conventional instruction, while simultaneously providing the possibility of being able to reach a greater number of learners at less cost.

The most sensible conclusion appears to be that the mass media need to be combined with face-to-face learning situations and existing modes of communication:[2]

> One clear impression that does emerge from existing case studies of informal educational projects is that the media can rarely, if ever, be relied upon exclusively. To work effectively, they must be integrated into existing patterns of communication at the local level.

The utility of radio and television broadcasting for educational purposes ultimately depends upon the willingness and ability of those who control it to supply adequate resources and upon the existence of local supporting services for listeners and viewers.

Whatever the views of specialists the mass media are for good or ill playing an increasingly weighty role in contemporary societies. Young adults are especially attuned to acquiring information and impressions from television. But countries differ to a remarkable extent in the degree to which they employ the mass media for a conscious educational purpose. In several highly industrialized countries it is notorious that the media are more or less exclusively given over to commercial entertainment. What is still more disturbing is that the media should neglect education in so many developing countries.

In a recent survey of the uses of the media in Latin America, the author reached the dismal conclusion that the messages of the media were reaching only a tiny fraction of the rural population, that the content was primarily designed for urban populations and that—like so much of the material used in agricultural extension programmes—the written, visual and oral codes employed were alien to the experience of rural inhabitants.[3] The Secretary General of the Economic

1. *Multi-Media Systems in Adult Education: Twelve Project Descriptions in Nine Countries*, p. 6, Munich, Internationales Zentralinstitut Für das Jugend-und Bildungs Fernsehen, 1971.
2. Hornik *et al.*, op. cit., p. 82.
3. Bolanos, op. cit., p. 3.

Commission for Africa (ECA) has also lamented the misuse and small educational impact of the media:[1]

> Frequently, in our African countries, we find that a very serious hindrance to the adoption of more modern attitudes towards education and development is the paucity of communications media. Often, such media, where they exist, are directed almost exclusively to influencing the minds of the very small minority who are already functionally literate. It is primarily to this same minority group that most efforts of government information media—through radio, television and information sheets—are directed. Circulation of newspapers, except in a few African countries, is almost exclusively devoted to the same minority group.
>
> Sophisticated and most modern audio-visual media for teaching have been introduced in all African countries. These have been proved to be excellent areas for teaching adults. But we find that they are employed more for entertainment than for information or instruction. The possibilities of utilizing such modern audio-visual devices for generating interest in and for promoting vigorous adult education need to be fully explored.

There is so much loose talk about the educational uses of broadcasting that it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between programmes designed with an explicit instructional purpose and programmes which are meant to stimulate and inform the audience without necessarily demanding serious study. The first type of programme may be called 'educational' and the second type 'educative'.

It is commonly agreed by communications specialists and by educationists that radio is in important respects a more valuable educational medium than television. For one thing, thanks to the advent of low-cost transistor receivers, it can reach many people who do not have access to television sets and are not likely to have such access for the foreseeable future. For another, radio programmes cost only between one-fifth and one-eighth of television programmes.

Radio has proved particularly valuable as a component in instructional systems designed for illiterates. Radio literacy schools are well established in several Latin American countries and have now been introduced in other parts of the world. Radio cells or centres are formed in rural areas so that groups of men and women can listen to a one-hour programme. Afterwards they study for a further hour under the supervision of a tutorial assistant, usually a young man who has at least completed his primary education.

Radio plays a vital role in rural development. Radio programmes especially prepared for farmers were introduced in Canada as long ago as 1941 under the rubric of farm forums. Their first appearance outside Canada was in Ghana and they thereafter spread to a number

1. R. K. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 8.

of countries. Today there are throughout the world no fewer than 400 programmes addressed to farmers and other primary producers.[1] In Ghana a central broadcasting unit prepares programmes for farmers and fishermen, as well as for their womenfolk with a view to improving their domestic skills. Listeners come together in groups averaging twenty-five. The programmes are in the form of 'magazines' and include illustrative situation sketches and answers to listeners' queries. Producers regularly visit rural areas in order to keep abreast of current trends and problems and they also rely for regular feedback on audience reaction surveys. From time to time, briefing meetings are arranged for local leaders who serve as mediators. In 1962 the African Institute for Social and Economic Development (INADES) was inaugurated in Abidjan (Ivory Coast), with the object of providing radio programmes for illiterate farmers. Similar programmes are now available in Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia and Zaire. The key principle is to treat village communities as totalities and to try to involve all the villagers in a given community. Courses are directed at three groups—small farmers, middle-level workers, women. A staff of thirty-five is employed at Abidjan. Occasionally face-to-face meetings are arranged. The simplest possible language is used. To supplement the programmes, printed material and visual aids are supplied. Great success is claimed for these programmes. Radio is widely regarded as an invaluable medium for conveying information about government plans and policies and discussing the duties of citizenship.

There are in many places drawbacks to educational radio. One is the practice of transmitting programmes at fixed hours of the day with no repeats so that many people are unable to hear them. Many radio stations require stronger transmitters so that they can cover a reasonably wide area. Finally, very often only desultory arrangements are made for feedback with the result that communication is all one way.

Many countries are already using television for adult educational purposes and there are very few countries which have not drawn up plans to do so. No longer, however, are extravagant claims made about its potential as an instructional medium especially for undifferentiated audiences. On the contrary, the prevailing view is that television is to be used sparingly and in conjunction with other media. Nevertheless, television has considerable power to whet the appetite for learning:[2]

1. The number of listening groups in the world appears to be increasing—J. F. Ohliger, 'The Power Plants of Democracy: Recent Applications of the Listening Group in Adult Education', in J. A. Niemi (ed.), *Mass Media in Adult Education*, p. 69–70, New Jersey, 1971.
2. M. G. Puglisi, *The Use of Television in Adult Education: European Achievements*, p. 9, Council of Europe, 1967.

> The soundest view of the value of television would seem to be to regard it as a highly important auxiliary and above all a stimulus, which gives the viewer the desire to learn more, of his own accord, about the subjects dealt with.

Theoretically most subjects can provide material for television programmes and in some countries the coverage of content is reasonably satisfactory. The real problem is how to fit television programmes into the general scheme of a learning experience and at least to ensure that, at the receiving end, viewers have an opportunity to discuss programmes with the help of a tutor. In a few developed countries and in a growing number of developing countries, educational television is used extensively in conjunction with organized local viewing groups. Teleclubs flourish in French-speaking Africa, especially in the Ivory Coast and in Tunisia, and may also be found in Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, El Salvador and Samoa.

Educational television is most effective when it can be designed for more or less homogeneous groups who can participate in a carefully planned over-all programme. It is this fact which points to the tremendous potential of cable television. In evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference, the United States stated unequivocally that of all the innovations in educational technology cable television offered the greatest possibilities:

> The potential of cable television is so varied and great that its future use draws far more attention, speculation, planning, and debate than all the changes and developments in other media and techniques combined. Some say it will have the mass impact of the printing press, the telegraph and telephone, radio and over-the-air television—plus much of the individual impact of face-to-face learning. A multitude of channels feeding a console in every home is envisaged, with these channels providing everything from news and entertainment to individual instruction where the learner can talk with a computer through his cable TV console. In effect this would mean that there would be a learning center in every home equipped to meet individual needs.

It may be added that cable television could play a crucial part in supplementing community development and community action projects. So far, only a few cities in North America and in the United Kingdom have used cable television as a medium of educational instruction for adults—some cities are using cable television for school broadcasts and these are viewed by many adults—but several are using it to provide a general community service. In Canada and some parts of the United States the law requires commercial cable television companies to make some channel capacity available for community programmes and to supply the necessary technical resources.

The range of content and mass appeal of television make it poten-

tially the most powerful educative agent of all the media of communication. For the educated it can greatly enrich existing knowledge and widen experience. For the uneducated it can be an indispensable source of useful information and an occasional spur to mental activity. Producers can be trained to use the techniques of entertainment programmes to supplement the aims of educators operating outside the medium. In the United States and in other countries a programme entlited *Sesame Street*, although intended for children, has been watched by millions of adults. This programme includes jokes, puppet sketches, animated cartoons, miniature story situations, background music and a theme song.

So far we have considered the beneficial educational and educative uses of television. A number of deleguates at the Tokyo Conference deplored what they considered its abuses:[1]

> Far too much television time was devoted to commercialism, propaganda and entertainment programmes, which often depicted violence and sexual permissiveness. It was alleged that in some countries cheap entertainment had been allowed to dominate the air waves to such an extent that the total effect of the media was to debase human dignity and to aggravate separatism, conflict and alienation.

In general, it does seem that where public supervision is non-existent or permissive, commercial stations assume that popular tastes are cheap and that viewers do not wish to reflect constructively on what they see. They are encouraged in this assumption by the findings of viewing audience surveys which fairly consistently show that the more superficial a programme, the greater the number of people who will view it. The charters of broadcasting companies normally require them not only to provide entertainment, which is virtually certain to guarantee successful audience ratings, but to inform and to educate. To strike a reasonable balance among these three functions is not easy for there is no fixed measure of what reasonableness entails in such a context. A formula is required for reconciling public and private interests and seeing to it that the informing and educating functions are not neglected. This presupposes setting aside so many hours per week of broadcasting time for public affairs and educational programmes and ensuring that an adequate number of the production staff are trained educationists. Even then, the particular interests of adult education are likely to be neglected unless precautions are taken to protect them. These precautions must at least include appointing adult education advisory committees and regularly allocating a fixed number of hours of broadcasting time to adult education programmes.

In Chapter 3 mention was made of the necessity for adult education agencies to identify specific groups with specific needs. Such

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 29.

specificity is far less easy to achieve for television, except in that minority of countries which can afford to maintain a network of local stations or to introduce cable television. And even with a number of channels, let alone one, it is difficult to address programmes to particular groups. At Tokyo one delegate reported that his country had introduced a two-year multi-media package intended for groups usually under-represented in higher education: people with little formal education; manual workers; rural inhabitants; women. *Post-hoc* inquiry showed that these four target groups had been under-represented among the viewing audience. For practical purposes, it would seem that minority interests will usually have to be served by radio rather than television.

Some communications specialists are predicting a glowing future for educational television by means of satellite technology.[1] Theoretically it is possible to broadcast educational programmes on several channels non-stop for twenty-four hours a day. Plans are already well advanced for reception from satellites in Africa, India, Indonesia, Iran and Latin America.[2]

Many countries continue to intensify the use of educational films on the grounds that films can be used at any time and anywhere provided a screen is available. The U.S.S.R. is one country which invests heavily in educational films:[3]

> The use of films, which considerably extended in the 1960s, was accompanied by the development of a trend towards film series on a particular subject, whereas in the previous decade the usual practice had been to make distinct films. A number of film studios in the USSR have gone over entirely to the production of educational films. A broad network has been established of educational film libraries (regional, district and municipal) which have a stock of films on every subject covered by general schools. The existing catalogues of educational films make it possible to plan their use in the educational process. Educational films are widely used in the school education of adults. Studies have been made on the method of using films in the educational process.
>
> Educational films are now being produced for use in the system of vocational training and up-grading for adults and in the system of political education and other out-of-school establishments for adult education.

The most important recent development in methods of instruction is undoubtedly the setting-up of multi-media instructional systems. The systems approach as such is not new but a borrowing from scientific

1. See, for example, Oeller (ed.), op. cit., p. 236–52.
2. Yet not one country submission to the Tokyo Conference mentioned the use of satellites.
3. Evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference, 1972.

method. It entails analysing all the factors in a potential learning situation and bringing to bear in a rational pattern all the available instruments—curriculum design, monitoring, evaluation, personnel, hardware and software. And it starts from the assumption that, when sensitively orchestrated, several media enrich a learning experience considerably more than a single medium. It cannot guarantee perfection but it does ensure that a methodical attempt, uncontaminated by prejudice, is made to discover the best possible way of monitoring an educational programme. Although commonly associated with large-scale delivery systems, the systems approach is clearly relevant at all levels of programming and indeed some adult educators sardonically point out that they have been applying it for years but calling it common sense.

There is, however, a difference betwen small-scale programming and large-scale programming. The first may survive unsystematic planning whereas in large-scale programming so many factors and so heavy a cost are involved that they simply will not work unless systematically planned. Multi-media instructional systems have now been introduced in a number of technologically advanced countries.[1] Those in Western Europe include Diff in the Federal Republic of Germany, Ofrateme in France, Teleac in the Netherlands, Tru in Sweden, Uned in Spain and the Open University in the United Kingdom.[2]

Currently, the most discussed use of the multi-media systems approach is that by the Open University in the United Kingdom, which was formally inaugurated on 30 May 1969. Every night, with repeats on Saturday and Sunday morning, students can follow a course of lectures and demonstrations on national television or, on radio, of lectures only. Every student is given material to be studied by correspondence, written exercises to perform and study kits, where appropriate. There are also specially prepared prescribed texts for him to read and digest. He is also allocated a personal tutor who marks his written work and generally tenders advice and monitors his progress. Each tutor is responsible for supervising approximately twenty students. Students are required to spend one fortnight in residence each year on the campus of an existing university, where they undertake an unusually intensive period of study inside and outside the classroom. Throughout the United Kingdom facilities are provided for groups of students to assemble in selected study centres both to view television programmes and to enter into group discussion under the leadership of a locally appointed part-time tutor. The facilities include television and VHF radio sets, tape recorders, projectors, a library of recorded broadcasts and computer terminals for mathematics students.

1. Oeller (ed.), op. cit., p. 6; twelve projects in nine industralized countries are described and discussed
2. Dohmen *et al.*, op. cit.

None of the methods used is individually novel. What is innovatory is the fact that they are systematically integrated. Thus, whereas traditionally the main input in universities has been through lectures, the emphasis here is upon stimulating the student to learn in a variety of ways. Though the academic staff decide what is to be taught, the applied educational methods unit recommends which will be the most effective method to use, suggesting which parts can best be dealt with through the television medium, which parts through a correspondence course, and so on. It is also considered essential that the student should follow a branching rather than a linear programme of study, so that when a gap in his knowledge or a failure to understand is exposed he can quickly be directed to remedial exercises, By making extensive use of computers the headquarters staff maintains a close watch on each student's progress.

The whole country is parcelled out into regions, each under the supervision of a director and supporting staff. The director is responsible for arranging interviewing and counselling services for would-be and actual students, for selecting study centres, and for administering residential schools. Counselling is carried out partly by full-time counsellors but mainly by part-time appointees, who are required to see students once a fortnight either singly or in groups. The appointment of counsellors is a significant innovation since in the past adult students have usually been left to sink or swim unaided.

The uniqueness of the Open University lies in its nation-wide coverage, its intimate relationship with the national broadcasting system and its exploitation of all the learning and teaching aids at the disposal of educators.

The initial capital outlay of setting up a multi-media instructional system on the Open University model is so great as to be prohibitive for many developing countries. There is no reason, however, why most countries should not be able to afford modifications of the system, for example, by dispensing with the costly television component. In 1972 a system was introduced on a limited scale into Mauritius under the title of College of the Air. Its aims, structure and organization were determined by a planning committee in the light of what they judged to be national educational priorities. Initially the College of the Air has concentrated upon education for employment in a country with an alarmingly high rate of unemployment, especially among recent school leavers. Instruction is provided by means of correspondence courses accompanied by printed illustrated materials, broadcasting and occasional face-to-face meetings.

The glamour of television frequently causes discussion about the mass media to overlook or underplay the continuing role of the press and the print media. In literate societies, newspapers and periodicals are almost as pervasive as radio and television and it is noticable that in some developing countries the number of newspapers

is increasing. Regional and rural newspapers may well be more influtential than national newspapers thanks to their intimate knowledge of local problems, needs and interests, and rural newspapers are essential to the success of literacy programmes. The press is not suitable for direct educational instruction, although besides carrying columns and supplements of notes and exercises for use by readers a few newspapers also now provide an advisory service on educational matters both for their general readership and for individual readers; other newspapers have special pages for new literates. The invaluable contribution which a responsible press can make to the education of adults is not only to present the news of the day but to arouse in their readers an interest in civic, economic and cultural affairs. Some countries embarked upon mass education campaigns obviously treat the press as a crucial weapon and several countries such as Thailand deliberately use the press to support their general adult education programmes by supplying wall newspapers which can be read in village reading centres.

By coincidence the Tokyo Conference took place during International Book Year, which was aimed at trying to increase the quantity of educational reading matter in developing countries. In many countries the shortage of serious books and other reading materials of all kinds[1] is acute and the intellectual and logistical problems involved in increasing the supply are immense. Paper is often in short supply; printing facilities are often scanty and costly to install and maintain; skilled authors are wanting. The lack of reading matter continues to militate against the successful outcome of many educational programmes. One cause of the trouble is that, in general, publishers are not much interested in educational books for adults, claiming that potential sales are commercially inadequate and that too little attractive material is offered them. It becomes important therefore for governments to establish State or State subsidized publishing houses such as the East African Publishing House or to subsidize commercial companies either directly or by placing substantial orders. Some governments tackle the problem by publishing materials directly out of public funds; in Cuba, for instance, 25 million textbooks have been published with 120 different titles. Some administrations prepare *ad hoc* texts for specific purposes. The spread of offset printing and xeroxing has also enabled some institutions to produce reading materials speedily and at relatively low cost.

There is one trend in the preparation of reading matter for adults which deserves to be reinforced, namely, the production of texts and study notes for specific programmes as well as casual reading texts. Correspondence schools must necessarily issue lesson notes specifically

1. Often there is a shortage of educational reading materials alongside a relative abundance of pulp fiction.

tailored for the independent learner. It is now in some countries well-established practice for educational broadcasts to be supplemented by specially prepared texts consisting either of very simple notes or quite detailed background surveys of the subject in question. Newly created institutions of the open university type have found that the textbooks already available on the market are seldom suitable for their particular courses. As a result, they have produced textbooks on their own account. The fact that these course-oriented textbooks have enjoyed enormous sales when sold commercially through booksellers would seem to show that despite the prolific output of textbooks on all subjects for university-level students there is still a desperate need for texts which form an integral part of a totally conceived learning input.

Following a recent inquiry, Unesco reached the conclusion that the crying need for educational materials in the developing countries could be met only by international co-operation:[1]

> There are several conclusions and recommendations to be made, based on replies to the questionnaire and Unesco's own experience:
>
> The developing countries present a challenge and a little-explored market in educational software materials, especially as regards developments and innovations. Their real needs are often not widely known, and their choice of purchase is limited.
>
> The producers of educational materials in the developed countries have the necessary means at their disposal with which to produce and distribute educational materials, especially those used in modern methods and techniques, which can be supplied under mutually advantageous schemes to those countries which do not have the possibility to produce them themselves and yet need them urgently in order to improve their means of instruction and to expand their system of education.

Regional conferences on book supplies took place in Tokyo in 1966 and Accra in 1968. Both concluded that every country needs to build up a national book industry.

At the beginning of this chapter it was pointed out that here and there original thought and experiment existed with regard to adult education methods. The problem is how to ensure that sporadic innovations become widely known and take firm root:[2]

> In order to innovate in education, it is not enough to have fresh ideas about teaching methods. Undoubtedly, such ideas are needed. Indeed, they may even lead to new approaches to training involving a reappraisal not only of curriculum content and teaching methods but also of structure and institutions.

1. Unesco, *Meeting of Publishers and Producers of Education Materials*, Nice, 27–28 May 1971, p. 2–3 (Unesco doc.).
2. R. Lallez, *The TEVEC Case: An Experiment in Adult Education Using the Multi-Media System*, p. 1, Paris and Geneva, Unesco and IBE, 1972.

> But between such ideas, however wide-ranging and clearly thought out they may be, and reality, there is a gulf. It is not till it has come into reasonably widespread use in educational practice, and been actually reflected in functional new institutions, that an educational innovation can be said to have really taken root.

The fundamental reason why innovations in methods and devices do not get widely adopted is that very few people know about them. In evidence to Unesco for the Tokyo Conference, a few countries expressed satisfaction with the domestic dissemination of information but the majority view was that information was hard to come by and haphazard. Moreover, in countries such as the United States there may be an abundance of raw information.[1]

> . . . but no great volume of organized and evaluated information, guides to compatibility of various hardware and software and certainly no central source for the raw information. There are no standardized guides or procedures available to help an educator select the equipment best suited to his needs and budget and no generally accepted and widely distributed cost-benefit studies of the many systems on the market.
>
> The decision to use methodology, media, and technology often rests with the individual teacher. Teachers who develop special skills in the use of new software and hardware may or may not share their knowledge with their colleagues.

Most of the information about new media and methods is disseminated through the pages of professional journals and news-sheets, which nowadays devote much space to articles and comments on instruction methods. In many countries, government and non-governmental agencies arrange short-term and long-term courses, workshops, seminars and conferences to initiate administrators and teachers into the use of innovative methods and new mechanical devices. Much is learnt from reports in newspapers and from manufacturers' and publishers' advertising copy. Some institutions ensure that at least one staff member becomes a media specialist so that he can give instruction and offer advice to other members of staff. Sweden is in the process of building up a documentation centre in conjunction with the library of the National Institute of Educational Research. But in general it is patent that more comprehensive and deliberate measures are required.

The international dissemination of information is predictably inadequate. Here there is the additional problem of the language factor. Several countries complained in their evidence to Unesco for the Tokyo Conference that although they were most anxious to adopt new methods, they could not obtain reliable information in their own

1. Evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference.

language and that they also found publications about the media to be costly.

The methods used in adult education determine the amount of effective learning that takes place. Yet most institutions make very little effort, if indeed any, to assess the general effectiveness of the instructional input to their programmes. There has also been remarkably little experimental research into the use of audio-visual media:[1]

> Most of this non-experimental literature consisted of surveys, testimonials, historical and descriptive assessments, reports of informal evaluations—all of which did not even attempt to deal with or assess the instructional effectiveness of audio-visual media.

Urgently needed is much closer co-operation among all the specialists concerned with the instruction of adults—media specialists, subject specialists, programme directors—since the application of their collective expertise, as the fruitful collaboration of interdisciplinary teams in planning open university courses has shown, would lead to a more objective and scientific evaluation of contemporary practice and the introduction of fresh combinations of methods.

1. Peggie L. Campau, *Selective Review of the Results of Research on the use of Audio-Visual Media to Teach Adults*, p. 5, Council of Europe, 1972.

Chapter 7

The administrative, organizing and teaching force

For a country or region envisaging adult education as a comprehensive public service it is essential to analyse and differentiate between all the professional and para-professional functions that have to be performed with a view to formulating sets of competencies for each function. Up to the present time there has been precious little job analysis. Perhaps a national commission of specialists, including administrators, planners, social scientists and agronomists, should be appointed to recommend the types of full-time and part-time personnel that are needed.

It is necessary to differentiate among three levels of personnel. First, there are those who are employed full time in an adult education service and who may envisage it as a permanent career. Second, there are those who are full time in a general educational service but who are required to devote a prescribed percentage of hours to adult education. Third, there are those who are employed on a strictly part-time basis. This last group may further be divided into those who expect to be paid and those, such as local lay leaders, who gladly serve as volunteers. The high cost of employing full-time professionals means that in most countries the second and third categories are, and will continue to remain, vastly more numerous than the first category.

Some of those who wish to raise the status of adult education suggest that almost any professional person whose duties require the use of communications skills is an adult educator. This is to strain the meaning of words and involves the risk of irritating powerful professional groups, notably community development and agricultural extension specialists. The first and foremost task of an agricultural extension officer, for example, is to help farmers maximize their efficiency. He is an educator of adults to the extent that he cannot achieve his aim without some knowledge of learning theory since it

is obvious that farmers will not adopt new methods of cultivation unless they understand why and how they should do so. But this fact does not make him an adult educator in a professional sense. Similarly, those people who are often cited as being educators of adults without being conscious of the fact may well be worth mobilizing in support of a determined expansion of adult learning activities but they are not professional adult educators.

One of the main barriers to improving adult education programmes and to initiating new ones is the absence in most countries of a sizeable corps of highly qualified, full-time professional staff capable of generating and spreading original ideas, planning and co-ordinating substantial programmes and raising the general level of administrative, organizational and teaching competence.[1]

The evidence is quite conclusive that no single factor is more conducive to the quickening of activity than the appointment of full-time staff. Yet almost nowhere in the world is the full-time staffing of adult education services remotely adequate, as the evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference by country after country clearly showed.[2]

In crude quantitative terms the position might seem to have improved dramatically since the Montreal Conference. Countries which formerly had no full-time staff now have at least a few, and several countries have multiplied the number of personnel several times over.[3] It is by comparison with the staffing complement in other sections of the social services that the absolute increase in the total number of adult educators looks puny. Few countries with large populations employ more than 1,000 full-time staff; a majority employ fewer than 100. Thus, the staff of a single new university, polytechnic or secondary school, necessarily serving a restricted and essentially privileged social group, is likely to outnumber all the professional adult educators in a country put together. By contrast, whole regions where poverty is ever-present may count themselves lucky to have the assistance of a solitary full-time adult educator.

1. cf. Coombs *et al.*, op. cit., p. 65: 'There is a world-wide scarcity of the first type —broad gauged planners and coordinators who can competently deal with all sorts of education and development factors and who are good implementers as well. That there are a few outstanding persons with this capacity is fortuitous; those we encountered had never been purposely trained for this role (partly because the need for this new breed of sub-national planner/administrator has only begun to be widely recognized and no provisions have been made for selecting and developing them).'
2. For example, 'Kenya has an acute shortage of professionally trained personnel in all fields for an adequate education programme' (evidence submitted for the Tokyo Conference).
3. In Hungary, for example, in 1969, 4,000 full-time adult educators were employed in informal adult education alone.—J. Kulich, *Training of Adult Educators and Adult Education Research in Hungary*, p. 9, Vancouver, 1973.

The acute scarcity of properly trained, full-time personnel capable of assuming a broad range of responsibilities has become a major concern of all those concerned about the development of adult education. Hardly a conference is held anywhere at the international, national or local level without a resolution being passed that an urgent remedy is called for.[1] The Tokyo Conference was no exception:[2]

> The Commission was in no doubt that the biggest challenge facing adult education during the 1970s would be how to mobilize and train sufficient professional personnel to discharge the multifarious tasks involved in enabling adults to learn and to want to go on learning.

Why is there so much concern and relatively so little action? Undoubtedly the main reason is that the majority of public authorities begrudge the establishment of full-time posts, whether in their own institutions or through subsidies to non-governmental agencies. Even when generally well disposed towards adult education needs, they prefer to rely upon a makeshift service staffed by volunteers or part-time salaried workers or at best by temporary full-time staff. Within the administration of a ministry of education or local education authority, it is quite common to find that an official with primary responsibility for one aspect or another of in-school education is incidentally required to keep an eye on adult education. Without a conscious change of policy on the part of the public authorities the situation will never improve. One argument that ought to appeal to them is that the extent to which adult education can contribute to increased economic output and an enhanced quality of life is contingent upon the employment of a critical mass of personnel of high calibre.

If there is a certain lack of quality in some of the personnel currently employed in adult education, it is mainly because of the absence of attractive career prospects.[3] Well-qualified people in educational or other posts are either ignorant of professional opportunities in adult education or regard them as insufficiently secure and prestigious. Civil servants in educational administration have been known to regard attachment to adult education as akin to penal servitude or as no more than a staging post on the ascent to higher rank. Young

1. During the sixties the training topic was on several occasions the subject of entire issues of adult education journals. For example, the very first number of the new journal *Convergence* was on the theme of 'The Training of Adult Educators'.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 34.
3. cf. Verner and Booth, op. cit., p. 110, 'The demand for further education far exceeds the availability of competent administrators or institutional agents. So long as adult education continues as a marginal institutional activity without a well-defined line of career development, this scarcity of personnel is apt to continue.'

graduates, especially in many of the developing countries, can see no glamour in a career in adult education in comparison with nearly all the other professions. An adult education service has to offer a visible vertical and lateral career structure and competitive salaries. It also has to make it widely known that it is not offering a tedious, hole-in-the-corner career but one demanding a social conscience, a variety of skills and the capacity for leadership. It is commonly claimed that many people do not stay in an adult education service because: (a) they do not identify themselves with it; and (b) the salary structure is inadequate.

The full-time adult educator may be defined as a person exclusively employed to assist, in one capacity or another, with the systematic education of adults. Whereas the part-time worker may perform his duties adequately with imperfect skills and limited experience, the full-time adult educator cannot operate efficiently unless he is a thorough-going professional with special personal attributes and a high degree of expertise.[1] His role is demanding at all levels. He is normally expected to plan, implement, direct and evaluate programmes and to assume responsibility for recruiting, training and supervising the part-time organizing and teaching staff on which adult education agencies are compelled to rely so heavily. In addition, he must know about general educational trends, he must establish and maintain contact with other professional workers and he may be required to develop close links between the formal educational system and the community. According to the Tokyo Conference *Final Report*, the adult educator should possess the following qualities and abilities:[2]

(a) a broad social experience and a broad cultural background. Social skills, an acquaintance with group work and the dynamics of group interaction, and an understanding of social and political processes were essential. Above all, an ability to feel empathy with people was often more important

1. cf. C. Verner, 'The Training of Adult Educators', *Journal of International Congress of University Adult Education*, Vol. 10, No. 1, April 1971, p. 55: '. . . modern society has had to systematise opportunities for learning through adult education and this has created a work specialisation for those individuals who manage the education of adults.'
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 34; cf. also W. M. Cave, *The Public School Adult Education Director; An Analysis of his Administrative Role* (unpublished): '. . . the program director's role in adult education is not an administrative stereotype. Neither is it burdened with tradition or institutional pressures. On the contrary, it is a comparatively new and unique administrative position, determined by and dependent upon the needs, interests, and desires of the adult populace which it serves. Thus, besieged on the one hand by a loosely-committed clientele, and on the other hand by an equally uncommitted executive authority, the adult education director is compelled to reconcile these disparities through the appropriate role adaptations. The former is accomplished via the service role, the latter is accomplished through the interprative role.'

than the mere ability to plan courses and to use up-to-date aids and equipment;

(b) enthusiasm sustained by a strong sense of social commitment was an invaluable asset;

(c) the ability to analyse the particular social circumstances in which they were working in order to create the right learning environment for participants was important. Since adults were not always conscious of their learning needs, adult educators must be first and foremost animateurs stimulating people to become aware of their potential for development and inspiring them with the confidence to undertake some form of study or to engage in purposeful group activities.

The foregoing conception of the adult educator is broader than that which pertains in a number of countries such as the United Kingdom where many adult educators are first and foremost subject teaching specialists or in many countries where adult educators preside over traditional institutions and eschew adventure. Rather, it sees adult educators as *animateurs*, in the French interpretation of that term, who identify cultural trends and stimulate a continuing flow of corresponding educational activities. It also presupposes the ability to manage a comprehensive public service like that envisaged by J. A. Simpson:[1]

> . . . it is by no means visionary to expect that in some countries there will emerge a profession of general adult educationists to fill posts which will provide a network coverage of the country on a population basis and where functions will be, not so much to teach, as to ensure that a right to education is exercised, or, at least, that people avail themselves of opportunities. Such general workers would have to know the full range of existing facilities, locally and nationally, including those provided by multi-media systems. It would be their duty to tailor an individual response to an individual demand. It is likely that, in addition, they would have the management of a central set of premises specially for adult education and would have pastoral duties over a considerable area, including the supervision of part-time teachers.

There exists a tendency to suppose that the professional person employed full-time in serving the education needs of adults must be either an administrator, organizer or a subject teacher or a combination of all three. This is not so—other specialist functions are also important. The following list gives some indication of the variety of job specifications that can readily be identified: (a) senior administrators and planners; (b) organizers; (c) directors of training courses (trainers of trainers); (d) researchers, statisticians and evaluators; (e) curriculum design specialists; (f) media specialists; (g) producers of materials,

1. Simpson, op. cit. p. 210.

including teaching aids and textbooks; (h) writers of suitable reading material for neo-literates; (i) agricultural extension workers; (j) co-operative extension workers; (k) para-professional aides; (l) librarians and documentalists; (m) the detached worker (that is, the worker living in the midst of a community, and not operating from an institution); (n) counsellors and advisers.[1]

It must be stressed that a number of countries submitting evidence in advance of the Tokyo Conference did not cite a serious shortage of administrators or organizers but of media specialists and authors of reading primers. Clearly each country has to determine its own staffing priorities in the light of its particular requirements.

By the time of the Montreal Conference it seemed to Arnold Hely that a profession of adult educators had begun to emerge:[2]

> The Montreal Conference and the related fringe conferences all indicated by the character both of their membership and their deliberations the rise of the professional in adult education. The passing of the 'gifted amateur' may mean the loss of certain qualities which characterized the adult education movement in the early days, but the rise of the professional makes possible a more serious and sustained attack on the problems facing adult education.

That judgement applied to a severely restricted group of people, most of them coming from Canada, Denmark, the United Kingdom, and the United States; and it is fair to say that, even in those countries where a good number of people were directly concerned with the education of adults, only a tiny band of men and women regarded themselves as 'professional adult educators'. Teachers of economics or literature to adults—yes; organizers of programmes for adults—yes; but 'professionals'—no.

Since the Montreal Conference there has been a remarkable change. In many countries, a high proportion of educators who work with adults now claim to be professionals. In the countries mentioned above and in several countries in Western Europe, Africa and Asia the total number of self-acknowledged professional adult educators is no longer to be counted by the handful but by the thousands, especially if one includes those concerned with occupational training. Especially noteworthy is the appearance of a large cadre of profes-

1. Categories (a) to (l) in the list are derived from evidence submitted by countries for the Tokyo Conference. Categories (m) and (n) were not included among any country's list of personnel priorities. Nevertheless, some authorities and agencies are now employing detached adult education workers as a way of tackling the problem of the educationally underprivileged. The rationale for employing such workers is that workers based in institutions appear to make little impact on the problem. Counsellors and advisers are employed by a rapidly increasing number of authorities and institutions.
2. Hely, op. cit., p. 14.

sionals in a country like the United Republic of Tanzania where only fifteen or so years ago there was scarcely a professional to be seen.

The accent on professionalism is due to two mutually reinforcing factors. On the one hand, governmental and non-governmental institutions have perceived the need for specialists and, even if on a very small scale, they have accordingly established specialists posts. On the other hand, men and women appointed as specialists or who eventually come to regard themselves as specialists have become aware of the community of interest between them and others similarly placed. No sooner have twenty or so specialists been appointed in a given country than they can be seen forming a professional association. No sooner have several professional associations been formed in a given geographical region than they can be seen forming a regional association.[1] Once formed, some professional associations set about trying to improve the comparative ranking, salaries and service conditions of their members. One yard-stick of comparison which they usually apply is parity with conditions in the formal educational system. In common with all professions, they also insist that all adult educators ought to possess special entrance qualifications. It is this insistence which has partly contributed to the proliferation of pre-service and in-service courses discussed below.

The Tokyo Conference welcomed the trend 'for a profession to emerge with a visible and attractive career structure' and hoped that it would be accelerated. But the conference also entered a caveat:[2]

> Stress on the need for professionals in adult education should not, however, lead to the establishment of a closed profession. It was necessary both to preserve mobility between adult educators and the general field of education and to ensure a close rapport between professional adult educators and non-specialists.

How ironic it would be if those who for years have railed against the insularity of the teaching profession should themselves set up a closed shop. Not only would such an action stifle imagination and experiment within the sector of adult education as such, it would also prevent that mobility within the whole field of education and between education and other professions which once seemed an impossible dream but is now being recommended by one public report on the future of education after another. Among those reports we may include the Unesco working paper for the Tokyo Conference which stated:[3]

> The general teacher, the 'one-man-band' for the transmission of knowledge, who was the linchpin of a system centred on the teacher rather than on the learner, must give way to a new

1. See below, p. 168-9
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 34.
3. Unesco, *Adult Education in the Context of Lifelong Learning*, p. 28, Paris Unesco, 1972 (Confedad 5).

type who will be a member of a multi-disciplinary team. The composition of the teams of specialists which will henceforward constitute the basis of adult education, will be based on a functional distribution of educational tasks. It should be pointed out that in the World Experimental Literacy Programme, pluridisciplinary teams were used whose extremely flexible make-up varied according to the overall or specific objective of each project.

So far we have been discussing the need for, and the role of, full-time adult educators. In practice, programmes are still very largely planned and administered by part-time administrators and organizers, especially outside the public sector. Except at the micro level it is desirable that planning and administration should be a full-time professional task; ideally, organizing should also be a professional task. In most countries, however, it is difficult to envisage public funds ever being available in sufficient quantity to sustain more than a nucleus of full-time staff. On the contrary, for the foreseeable future a good deal of the planning and administration and most of the supervision of locally based programmes will necessarily fall upon the shoulders of part-time workers. The teaching of adults, outside the occupational training sector, is also certain to remain very largely a part-time function.

A large proportion of part-time organizers are school-teachers who by their own choice or in response to social demand have become involved in adult education. Few have been trained to deal with adults and some are not particularly interested in doing so, a point which is discussed below. Yet in many communities they are the sole persons at all capable of managing a programme. Besides, deliberately to bypass school-teachers would make nonsense of the current trend to integrate all levels of educational activity in a single framework. The solution lies rather in taking steps to modify teachers' attitudes and enhance their understanding of the specific needs pnd problems of adults.

Surpassed in seriousness only by the shortage of full-time organizing staff is the shortage of ancillary staff.[1] The result is that highly qualified and potentially creative professionals are often bogged down in routine work which gradually saps their enthusiasm. It is this cumulative inertia which often leads to the passive attitude towards non-participants described above. Clerical assistance is generally inadequate and often non-existent, especially in support of part-time administrators and organizers. In many places the 'principal' or 'super-

1. In evidence submitted for the Tokyo Conference, the United States stated: 'There is considerable evidence that adult education programmes throughout the United States could be strengthened significantly by use of the para-professional aide in many tasks. Such aides would assist the senior professional or master teacher in expanding the instructional programme.'

visor' of adult classes can be found of an evening uncomfortably seated in an obscure corner of a school building desperately trying, alone and unaided, to cope with registers, time-tables, syllabuses, correspondence and files, which he is obliged to carry round with him in a small suitcase. Precious few adult education programmes are serviced by specialists who can prepare materials or look after the storage, repair and distribution of equipment.

As already indicated, the teaching of adults is overwhelmingly a part-time occupation largely carried out in academic courses by full-time teachers[1] seeking, like some part-time organizers, to supplement their incomes.[2] Outside formal education equivalency courses, a growing number of those employed are not school-teachers at all but people from a broad spread of other professions. This trend is all to the good. In China, for example, many professional leaders and skilled manual workers have left their urban homes in order to teach in rural communes.

In general, those who teach adults on a part-time basis are poorly paid, a fact which explains, according to those critics who apparently rule out altruistic motives, the dubious quality of much of the teaching that goes on.[3] Poor pay is often associated with differentials in the fee scale from one district to another. The solution is obvious—raise pay levels and remove the differentials—but not easy to apply. Part-time adult teachers seldom belong to an association capable of collective bargaining, and teachers' unions seldom seem disposed to protest about inadequate part-time payments. Nevertheless, in order to remedy the situation, national or local governments anxious to raise the quality of the adult education service have only to fix the rates of pay in relation to the rates for full-time teachers in the regular education system.

If adult education services are to be expanded, the administrative, organizing and teaching force will have to be expanded too. The question is then raised: from which sources are suitable recruits to be drawn?

1. cf. Commission on Post-secondary Education in Ontario, op. cit., p. 23: '. . . low status of adult education is constantly reinforced and symbolised by the fact that the teaching of most of their courses is organized on an overload basis, as an extra activity for staff pursuing salary supplements. Is it surprising then, when part-time students resignedly murmur about the sorry attitudes of some of their teachers—those who seem less to be cultivating the vineyard of learning than operating a mining claim'.
2. Except perhaps in such institutions as community colleges and the sector of occupational training. A survey by the National Teachers' Association of the United States, carried out in 1972, found that of its 200,000 members teaching adults, 41.9 per cent were engaged full time and only 7.4 per cent part time.
3. cf. 'The organizations concerned with general academic adult education have great difficulty in finding teachers who are well-qualified both pedagogically and with respect to their subjects, because they are at present unable to pay adequate salaries due to the present insufficient support by the State.' Evidence submitted by Austria to the Tokyo Conference.

A distinction must be drawn between the recruitment of full-time and that of part-time or voluntary workers.

As regards the first category, the Tokyo Conference recommended that full-time adult educators might be recruited from among the following groups:[1]

(a) volunteer teachers and organizers who had a common background of experience with the communities which they would serve;
(b) teachers who had already taken part in adult education programmes or run evening centres on a part-time basis and decided that their main interest was dealing with adults;
(c) men and women with special knowledge and skills.

There is a tradition in a few of the industrially advanced countries that the great majority of recruits to adult education should have reached a mature age and have had practical experience of planning and organizing programmes. A recent report on adult education in England and Wales by a committee of inquiry expressed the view that:[2]

> For the most part, we see great advantage in the majority of full-time adult education staff being recruited after a period of experience in a part-time capacity, but we would not wish to exclude a valuable minority who will wish to start this work on a full-time basis.

The practical implication of applying the maturity and experience criteria is that adult educators come in large numbers from the teaching profession. What happens is that a man or woman teacher begins by teaching adults in the evenings and then becomes the part-time supervisor of an evening programme. The next step is to become a full-time organizer. This progression is fruitful when the individual is energetic and imaginative but deleterious when the individual is not. Too often, adult education programmes are run by 'caretakers' of unimaginative programmes rather than *animateurs*.

The Tokyo Conference recommended that the following categories of people might be recruited as part-time adult educators:[3]

(a) Qualified people from many professions who could serve as teachers, leaders or organizers after undergoing the appropriate training.
(b) Local officials of government departments, especially those who were in charge of extension or community development services.
(c) Teachers who had undergone a short orientation training course.

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 34.
2. *Adult Education: A Plan For Development*, p. 133, London, 1973.
3. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 35.

(d) 'Senior citizens', who often exercised considerable influence in the community because of the esteem in which they were held.
(e) University students, especially in developing countries where highly qualified people were frequently in short supply among the older age groups.

This classification is based on an assumption that those who are experts in a given field do not necessarily make the best teachers,[1] especially when adult students may spring from a social and educational milieu different from their own. Differences in experience, in attitudes, and in vocabulary create obstacles to communication and when communication fails effective learning does not take place. To take an example: a labour union may wish to provide a course of instruction for its members on a specialist subject such as economics. A trained economist may be incapable of explaining economic theory to working men or, indeed, incapable of finding out what will stimulate their interest and why. So the union may have to select one of its own members with known skills in communication and send him off to a course in economics. Many individuals learn most readily from their peers because they have confidence in them as reliable sources of information or masters of practical skills and are not intimidated as they may be by professional specialists. Thus, in a mass education programme local leaders may be chosen to play a central role. For example, in order to encourage farmers to adopt new storage or selling practices, agricultural extension officiers might operate principally through the mediation of natural leaders. It then follows, of course, that one of the skills required of professional organizers is a capacity to identify natural leaders.

Those who may formally be defined as belonging to the full-time profession of adult education such as programme directors, literacy specialists, occupational training specialists or university extension officers, comprise only a proportion of the people engaged regularly in the education of others. The personnel resources for adult education work include, at least potentially, a nation's journalists, radio and television producers, agricultural extension officers, librarians, doctors, civil servants in close touch with the public, community leaders, mayors, social workers, health officers and community personnel. The educational dimension of their work may be quite evident to some of these people whereas others may be either unaware of it or see it as relatively unimportant. There can be no question, however, that it would contribute to the general good of society if all of them were to perform their educational role more systematically. This was

1. cf. ECA Secretariat, op. cit., p. 13: 'It is well known that many African training institutions are staffed by individuals recruited on the premise that once one knows, then one can teach what one knows to someone else.'

the view of some delegates at the Tokyo Conference, who argued that:[1]

> . . . anyone occupying a position of responsibility in society could not escape from the duty of helping to educate his less fortunate fellow countrymen. These included such people as doctors, social workers and librarians whose work brought them into daily contact with people. Wherever a person supervises others, he should be conscious of the educational dimension of his work. Anyone who has already a minimum of education should help in promoting education in his neighbourhood as those who are most educationally and culturally under-privileged are best helped by those who share their daily life.

Nearly everyone is potentially an educator. Nearly all of us teach someone at some point in time. Every milieu has a wealth of potential resources.[2] It is this realization that has inspired Illich to advocate his contact system and others to advocate educational exchange marts by means of columns in the press or swap boxes in public libraries.

Illich has recommended a system of learning webs whereby all those who have something to teach and all those who require instruction should make contact with one another. In small communities such a system already often works in an informal way. It would be more difficult to apply it to large centres of population but it certainly deserves more consideration than many critics have been prepared to give it. The critics have misjudged its potential efficiency by assuming that it would necessarily be a haphazard arrangement. In practice, there is no reason why such a system should not be treated as an important element in any general scheme of adult education. This presupposes that the public adult education service, in addition to providing its own programmes, would ensure that full facilities were put at the disposal of would-be voluntary teachers and students.[3] Such facilities could include issuing regular lists of teachers and students, offering small rooms free of charge in evening centres and libraries, giving specialist advice and providing appropriate teaching materials. Supporting services are required, of course, by *all* adult educators, especially when operating alone.

Only a few of the full-time staff and virtually none of the part-

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 35.
2. cf. Coombs *et al.*, *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-Formal Education Can Help*, p. 20, London 1974: 'Potential resources for non-formal education in rural areas are often underutilized or untapped. . . . the expertise of local master craftsmen, progressive farmers, entrepreneurs and government specialists posted in rural communities could be harnessed for part-time instruction; and educated but underemployed adolescents and young adults could share their general education with others.'
3. See p. 149–50.

time staff currently employed in edult education have been formally trained, though many have completed teacher-training courses. Until very recently, indeed, it was commonly assumed that adult educators had a natural flair for organizing or teaching, and did not therefore require any training or at least not the sort that necessitated attending regular courses.[1] But today the drive on the part of adult educators themselves to become as professionally competent as possible and to create a professional identity[2] and the growing sophistication of administrative and organizational procedures have combined to produce a demand for the professional training of adult educators, a demand that comes not only from within the profession itself but from outside. In Finland, for example, training is compulsory for full-time administrators and teachers employed in institutions subsidized by the State. In a number of countries, the State does not stipulate that personnel be professionally trained but in practice both public and very often private institutions do so stipulate or give preference to candidates who have been trained. Moreover, wherever training courses have become numerous, the greater has been the tendency for institutions to demand that new recruits should possess professional qualifications.[3]

In societies where only the young have the benefit of formal education it may be considered that they have a particular responsibility to share their privileges with older people by using their spare time, especially during vacations, to organize literacy programmes or to serve as teachers. A few governments demand and others prescribe that the young should serve the adult education movement. In Burma, for example, university students work during the summer months in literacy corps. Mobilizing the group to lead and teach not only helps to overcome a present shortage of staff but also predisposes them to become leaders and teachers on a permanent basis.

Although today, in many countries, a complex and politically delicate issue, teacher training poses far fewer problems than the training of personnel for the adult education service. For one thing, the latter service is heterogenous, involving a wide range of providers from universities to community schools, from commercial undertakings to non-profit-making private agencies. The vital need is to achieve as much of a common core in training as possible so that occupational

1. It is significant that there is no reference to training for adult educators in Hely's post-Montreal study *New Trends in Adult Education*, op. cit. Nor did the Montreal Conference have much to say on the subject.
2. Some of the older generation of adult educators still regard formal training as a waste of time and are suspicious of those who theorize about but do not practise adult education.
3. Some national annual statistics relating to training for adult education are comprehensive, namely Czechoslavakia (900 full-time and 5,000 part-time staff); Poland (2,000 full-time and 20,000 part-time); Indonesia (110,000 part-time); Cuba (23,400 part-time teachers).

mobility between one sector and another can be encouraged and so that, wherever they work and whatever their clientele, adult educators can freely communicate with one another, sharing problems and exchanging useful information. Specialized knowledge and unique skills are obviously required for particular kinds of programmes such as, for example, industrial training, but anyone professionally engaged in the education of adults must acquire a good deal of core knowledge and skills. Ideally, therefore, the initial training and some of the in-service training of adult educators should take place in training centres catering for a comprehensive range of expertise. Generic training can then be supplemented by specialized training on the job or by means of induction courses.

Eight types of training courses can be distinguished:

For organizers and administrators: (a) initial training—full time; (b) initial training—part time; (c) in-service training—full time; (d) in-service training—part time.

For teachers: (a) initial training—full time; (b) initial training—part time; (c) in-service training—full time; (d) in-service training—part time.

Since about 1966 there has been in some countries a spectacular increase in the number and variety of training courses designed for full-time specialists. The following types of course can be identified: (a) undergraduate degree courses; (b) post-graduate degree courses; (c) post-graduate diploma and certificate courses; (d) short, full-time preparatory courses; (e) in-service training courses of varying lengths.

There are manifest advantages in locating full-time training courses in universities. One advantage is that universities can offer the interdisciplinary collection of courses that is required. University-level courses are intended for young graduates who wish to embark upon a career in adult education or for men and women who, having already enbarked on such a career, desire a formal training and the valuable academic award that goes with it. Notably in North America, but also in many countries in Europe, including Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, in a few African countries and in Cuba it is possible to obtain a doctoral or master's degree or a diploma chiefly as a result of following prescribed courses. In the United States of America no fewer than seventy-five universities now offer master's or doctoral degree courses; an indication of the scale of this provision is that during the year 1971 the one-thousandth American doctoral degree in adult education was awarded.[1]

Until recently, governments and institutions in the developing countries sent their personnel for training at universities in the more developed countries. Thus several university and government depart-

1. cf. E. K. Townsend Coles, *Universities and Adult Education Research and Training, A Survey*, ICUAE, 1970.

ments in places as far apart as Hong Kong and the Sudan have arranged for nearly all their professional staff to be trained in a developed country. One by one, however, the developing countries are introducing their own post-graduate training courses.

Beyond the vocational training course, facilities in many universities have been extended to enable specialists to obtain research degrees or to undertake a major piece of research as part of the requirements for a degree. A pattern now seems to be established in which the developing countries provide their own post-graduate training courses up to the diploma or certificate level but send those who are academically well qualified to undertake research for a master's or a doctoral degree at universities in the more developed countries.

Adult education is included as a component in the curriculum of some undergraduate degree courses, as in the University of Zambia, for example, with a view either to enabling education students to acquire at least some knowledge of adult education or to inducing students in other professions such as medicine to appreciate that adult education is also a profession with which it is worth developing a co-operative relationship.

Short, full-time preparatory courses are far more numerous than long-term courses; ranging in length from one to six months, they are commonly offered in the developing countries for field workers and non-graduate workers at all levels. Some of these courses are arranged by universities but the majority take place at national or regional training centres under government control. The Philippines has a national centre and at the national level India has incorporated within the National Institute of Adult Education a Department of Adult Education whose several functions include the training of social education officers. One of the most original schemes for short training courses is to be found in Senegal, where extension workers, selected from among the natural leaders in their communities, are trained at *centres d'animation rurales*.[1] It is, incidentally, worth noting that in a number of developing countries the public authorities now consider that enough attention has been paid to the training of high-level specialists such as economists and planners and that the time has arrived to devote more resources to the training of community leaders. Short courses are also provided by voluntary agencies, trade unions, co-operative societies and many other organizations.

Apart from the expansion of short-term courses there has been a striking increase in the number of occasional seminars, conferences and workshops. In several Latin American countries seminars are regularly held on Saturdays. The impetus here has come less from employing bodies than from adult educators themselves, determined

1. See B. M. Cisse, 'Senegal' in J. Lowe (ed.), *Adult Education and Nation Building*, p. 99–102, Edinburgh, 1970.

to keep in touch with one another and to enhance their professional expertise.

There is growing evidence that senior officials employing miscellaneous categories of community workers—social workers, community developers, agricultural extension officers, health educators, adult educators and so on—are leaning to the view that, if not trained in unison throughout an entire training programme, such workers should attend certain courses in common, for example, the study of social change, and share at least some training experiences. Kenya, for instance, has planned multi-purpose rural training centres which combine all the training facilities in rural areas in place of the present fragmented and generally under-utilized system of individual centres. Sudan has established a community development training centre for adult educators and social workers. If it is not possible to train professional workers for all the community services within a single institution, it is at least desirable to make sure that the training institutions are in sufficiently close proximity to one another to ensure that certain generic courses and a number of social and recreational facilities are shared. It is also desirable for professional workers in the social services to share some in-service training experiences in order that they may break down the semantic barriers that separate them and discuss the many problems that they face in common.

In spite of the intensive employment of part-time organizers, especially in evening-class centres, arrangements are only just beginning to be made for their training and in only a few countries is training compulsory as a pre-condition of employment. Yet such training is essential for efficient performance. The training courses that exist for part-time organizers generally take one of three forms: (a) short courses of weekly meetings usually held in the evenings; (b) residential courses, usually covering a week-end but sometimes covering a week or more; (c) a combination of a period in residence with weekly meetings. In the view of the Tokyo Conference:[1]

> The training of part-time workers obviously depends upon the state of their existing skills and knowledge. At the least, they must know something about adult learning and they must be able to identify with the people whom they have to serve. As a rule, their training should take place in the milieu in which they work. At times, it might be valuable to bring them into residence for concentrated courses.

In virtually all countries, the ratio of part-time to full-time teachers of adults is very high. In the United Kingdom, for example, the ratio is approximately 200 : 1. The only area in which full-time teachers of adults are at all widely employed is that of industrial training. For

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 35.

all practical purposes, therefore, it can be assumed that reliance upon part-time teachers will remain a permanent factor.

Two perennial criticisms are levelled at the performance of part-time teachers: (a) too many are amateurs; (b) too many are school-teachers who have little empathy with adult learners and who cannot, or will not, modify their school-room teaching styles.[1] Very often the low status of adult education services is partly due to public distrust of the teachers' competence.[2] The public authorities tend to ignore this problem altogether or to shirk spending money on training schemes. Part-time teachers themselves are unlikely to see any advantage in surrendering a part of their leisure time for training when the tenure of employment is precarious, the financial rewards small and the working environment frequently uncongenial. There are some determined government departments and administrators, however, who are experimenting with a variety of training schemes. In Yugoslavia, for instance, it is difficult for a part-time teacher to obtain employment unless he first attends a training course. In the Ukrainian S.S.R. a five-year plan was drawn up in 1971 to ensure the obligatory training of all teachers. In the United Kingdom several local authorities will no longer employ part-time teachers unless they have previously attended part-time courses necessitating approximately 60-80 hours

1. cf. Unesco, *Meeting of Experts on Services to Out-of-School Youth in the Asian Region, Bangkok, 1972, Final Report*, p. 6. 'In this regard, the participants expressed general dissatisfaction with the usual performance in out-of-school programmes of school-teachers and other authorities coming from outside the local communities who tended to direct and instruct rather than stimulate and encourage youth in the development of their own sense of awareness. It was believed that local institutions and members of the community with particular skills might be more effective in providing relevant learning experiences.'
2. cf. the following statement by a senior education official: 'It could be said that the standard of part-time teaching in adult education is its Achilles heel, but part-time teachers are the people with whom the public mainly come into contact, and they are the ones who deliver the goods from the public's point of view. The public expect to have to put up with unsatisfactory material facilities in Evening Institutes, but they do expect, and have a right to expect, a high quality of teaching and sympathetic involvement in the subject for which they have voluntarily enrolled and paid a fee. There is often a drop off in students' attendance at adult education classes in the course of the session. There are, of course, a number of reasons for this wastage, but I suspect that high amongst them is dissatisfaction with the standard of teaching experienced, including in some cases an inability to adapt school techniques and content of work to adult learning needs. Since the provision of adult education in the foreseeable future will depend largely on part-time teachers, local education authorities must tackle more vigorously their training. A determined attack on this problem by L.E.A.'s over the next ten years would do more to raise the image of the adult education service in the eyes of the public, and to eliminate the frequent charge that the work constitutes only fringe education, than any other single action.' A. N. Fairbairn, *One Country's Look into the Post-Russell Era*, p. 3 (unpublished).

of instruction. In Norway and Sweden there are abundant training opportunities for study-group leaders both under the aegis of national associations and at the local level.

The training of part-time teachers is far from easy to arrange. Most of them are already committed to full-time employment and enjoy little free time. In sparsely populated areas they may face awkward travel problems. Accordingly they must be given a powerful incentive to undergo training. This might take the form of an increase in teaching fees directly related to the number of hours spent in training. Courses must be held at convenient times and in attractive conditions; whenever possible, it is desirable to arrange courses in residence, for the more seriously the providers appear to regard training and the more attractive the training environment, the more part-time teachers will want to undergo training.

A high proportion of adult teaching is done by school-teachers. Yet to professional adult educators it has long been apparent that, by and large, headmasters and school-teachers are indifferent towards adult education. The majority never have anything to do with it. The problem is regularly discussed at major gatherings of adult educators. It was raised at Elsinore and, as Hely noted:[1]

> One of the interesting trends at the Montreal Conference was the increased stress placed upon the need for greater involvement of schools and teachers in the work of adult education.

Like so many other international conferences, the Montreal Conference recommended that there should be a compulsory adult education component in all teacher training courses. The Tokyo Conference reiterated the proposal: [2]

> Adult education should be treated as a subject in the syllabus of teacher-training courses. Their curricula should include such topics as the psychology of the adult learner, community problems and teaching methods and techniques.

In practice, very few teacher training curricula include an adult education component, though several countries have taken appropriate action. Since 1969 the Ministry of Education in the United Republic of Tanzania has required that adult education should be a compulsory course in all teacher training colleges with a view to producing multi-skilled teachers able to deal with adults and children alike in learning situations. Since 1972 adult education is one of the subjects to be studied in teacher training colleges in Kenya. In Sweden, a bill relating to the training of folk high school teachers, approved in 1969, stipulated that in the regular teacher-training course more attention should be paid to the different facets of adult education. Nigeria has declared:

1. Hely, op. cit., p. 107.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 35.

'Training in adult education methods and techniques should be available at all levels, especially in teacher training colleges, secondary schools and universities.' Finally, Venezuela has stated that:[1]

> . . . a general plan for the professional improvement of teaching staff is under study. This plan calls for the organization of short training courses designed to inform teaching staff of the new concept given to life-long education and the role which it is called to play in adult education; the importance of adult education as an instrument for economic and social development; sociological basis of adult education.

There are some other encouraging signs.[2] In the United States consideration has been given to reducing the surplus of trained teachers by encouraging some of them to transfer to the adult education sector, having first undergone appropriate retraining. Austria envisages granting school teachers leave of absence on full pay in order that they may work for a time with adults. In a number of countries, including the Philippines, joint appointments to school and adult education have been made. It is also noteworthy that acceptance of the concept of lifelong education renders it necessary to create a system of professional training which, at every level of specialist instruction, is based:[3]

> . . . organically on day-time schooling and which more and more removes from the school the narrow track of preparing pupils for specific occupations.

The benefits of providing an introduction to the aims and functions of adult education in teacher training courses are substantial. It produces a regular supply of young teachers willing and competent to serve adult education as part-time organizers and teachers and it encourages the tendency within many schools to seek closer relations with the local community, not least by offering educational and social facilities to adults whether they be parents or not.

Besides the training of part-time organizers and teachers of adults and the introduction of future teachers to the field of adult

1. Evidence to Tokyo Conference.
2. The attitude of school-teachers towards adult education will obviously begin to change if the pressure to forge closer links between schools and communities is sustained. At a recent international conference organized by the World Council of Teaching Professions, the following recommendations were made:
   '(1) *Teacher Training.* Teacher training should be designed, inter alia, to develop in young teachers those human and social skills which will enable them to participate in community life, to know how to consult with the community, and to be able to interpret the community to students.
   (2) *Personal Preparation.* Every teacher, before or during his professional training, should have a personal experience of the work situation; this needs to be an on-going practice during the course of his or her professional life.'—*Report of Proceedings of WCOTP International Seminar: The Community as a Teacher of Teachers*, p. 11–12, Washington, D.C., 1970.
3. Evidence submitted to the Tokyo Conference by Hungary.

education, it is necessary to consider other categories of specialists who perform key functions. These categories include mass media programme producers and script writers, authors of reading texts for the newly literate and of correspondence courses, educational technologists, and authors of programme learning modules. There are also many people who perform the role of adult educators without being explicitly aware of the fact, for example shop-stewards and police officers. But to provide training or even counselling facilities for those who serve as adult educators incidentally to their main function is far from easy. The answer may lie in associating some instruction about adult psychology and teaching and counselling methods with professional in-service training courses.

Apart from the expansion of short-term courses there has also been a striking increase in the number of occasional seminars, conferences and workshops. The impetus here has come less from employing bodies than from adult educators themselves, determined to keep in touch with one another and to enhance their professional expertise.

One encouraging development is that the content of training courses and the instructional methods used have changed markedly for the better. Initially, training courses tended to consist of desultory discussions about aims, descriptions of the history and the organization of the local or national system, a few commonsense observations about the characteristics of the adult learner and practical hints about administrative procedures. The report prepared by Unesco for the Tokyo Conference pointed out that:[1]

> Lifelong education with its goal of adaptability to change stresses the need for a very different type of teacher—and not only where adult education is concerned. It is no longer a question of teaching or educating from the front of the class but of helping to learn, of providing motivation, of stimulating the acquisition of knowledge and creativeness, of knowing how to fade into the background at the right moment, of encouraging self-directed learning, which is now perhaps more important than the specific knowledge *they* impart. Educators must be prepared to understand the model to which their own behaviour corresponds, and be willing to accept the existence of other models. Adults no longer need masters and lecturers so much as advisers and *animateurs*. Educators must know how to communicate with the learner. In a word, the abilities and qualities necessary for all those engaged in adult education and hence the key points on which their training should concentrate may be summed up as follows: (a) a knowledge of those being taught and of their environment; (b) competence in the elements which make up the programme content; (c) an ability to utilize the most appropriate methods, and (d) psycho-sociological training, training in communication in particular.

1. Unesco, *Adult Education. . .*, op cit., p. 29–30.

In several parts of the world, regional training centres for adult educators have been established. For example, labour leaders from all over America attend courses of between six to ten weeks' duration *at the Centro Inter-Americano de Educación Sindical in Cuernavaca.*

A minor theme of the Tokyo Conference was the need to change the relationship between the providers of adult education—organizers and teachers—and the participants:[1]

> In adult education practice it was now widely accepted that the concepts of 'student' and 'teacher' were inadequate. Instead of 'teacher' the word 'guide' or 'counsellor' or 'animateur' were increasingly being used; instead of 'student', 'participant'. There was an ideological reason for this change; in adult education instructors and students were seeing themselves as associates, as educationists more and more came to appreciate that adults were the principal agents of their own education and that they had a wealth of experience and insights to contribute to the learning process.

The implications of moving towards a democratic relationship between staff and students are obviously profound both for the organization of programmes and the training of personnel. These implications will be considered in the next chapter.

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 14.

Chapter 8

Administrative policies

National planning strategies are clearly necessary if adult education is to become a key, rather than a marginal, social service. But how are they to be formulated and implemented? Until recently little thought had been given at national or local levels to the over-all aims of adult education,[1] to the problem of resource allocation and to ways and means of erecting long-term administrative and institutional structures. Yet indicative planning and central supervision of adult education are essential, especially if the thesis be accepted that an effective government social and economic policy presupposes an effective adult education policy.

In virtually every country in the world, adult education institutions and programmes have evolved sporadically in response to *ad hoc* needs, in isolation from the national educational system and with little, if any, financial support from public funds. The result is that no organized pattern is usually visible, activities are seldom co-ordinated even at the community level, and nothing so methodical as a system can be said to exist. Long-term planning is at a discount. In the modern world, however, the sheer range and complexity of adult learning needs require that the existing piecemeal arrangements be rationalized. No longer is it sufficient to rely upon a highly marginal and under-financed service. This does not imply that adult education must become a State monopoly but that the State should ensure, by

1. This is, of course, not surprising when one considers that '. . . only very rarely has a Ministry of Education defined its general educational aims', B. Schwartz, 'A Prospective View of Permanent Education', *Permanent Education*, p. 48, Strasbourg, 1970.

one means or another, that the provision is adequate.[1] The Tokyo Conference recommended:[2]

> . . . that within the context of life-long education, adult education be recognised as a specific and indispensable component of education, and that legislative or other measures be taken which support the development of broadly based adult education services.

In most countries governments and powerful pressure groups are beginning to show unprecedented interest in the control and administration of adult education. For example:[3]

> There is scarcely a member country of the Council of Europe which is not now engaged to some degree in a major revision of its educational system, and evidence suggests that, generally speaking, a new factor in this thinking is the increasing belief among politicians, educationists, administrators and responsible members of the public, that the education of adults must be envisaged as more central to total educational provision, and not merely as a minor afterthought designed for special categories of persons such as those who have been unfortunate or those who maintain a dilettante interest in academic and cultural matters.

And again:[4]

> From 1961 to 1971, the main characteristics of the education of adults were the lack of a specific policy and the dispersion of efforts. . . .
>
> From 1971 on, the education of adults has become a separate system though not isolated, bringing new perspectives and permitting a genuine, complete integration with formal education. The main point of the new policy of adult education rests in the elevation of the adult's status and consequent abandoning of his former, merely static position.

Since the Montreal Conference a number of governments have made statutory arrangements both to raise the status of adult education and to co-ordinate the activities of governmental and, where appropriate, non-governmental agencies. Some countries have established adult education boards and others, for example, Finland, have appointed working parties, to investigate the whole field of provision and to make recommendations for the expansion of existing facilities and development in new areas of endeavour.

In the great majority of countries, however, the new interest in adult education has yet to yield significant concrete results. The

1. *Montreal Conference, Final Report*, op. cit., p. 22.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 39.
3. Simpson, op. cit., p. 25.
4. A. L. Corres, 'Permanent Education and Adult Education in Brazil' (unpublished report).

judgement of a recent Unesco report on the reform of education systems as a whole is only too apt:[1]

There was, and there remains today:

> ... a great gap between words and deeds—between policies proclaimed by ministers attending conferences and the actions taken in their countries; between the methodologies prepared by theoreticians and their application in the actual planning process.

The vogue of the sixties for educational planning of the formal system largely overlooked adult education:[2]

> Planning in this field of education is still very limited, for in many countries it is for the most part provided by private undertakings, often of a commercial character.

After an intensive and widespread investigation of non-formal education in developing countries, an ICED team concluded:[3]

> Few nations have yet made a serious effort to look at rural non-formal education as a whole in relation to their practical development needs. And fewer still have attempted to harmonize the scattered effects of various public and private bodies in non-formal education. There is no one body responsible for maintaining an overview of all such activities, for projecting future needs, or for encouraging collaboration among different programme sponsors.

It is almost as though governments are unaware of the impact already being made by the multifarious agencies engaged in the provision of adult education and assess its needs in relation to the relatively small investment in facilities and staff made by ministries of education.

If the 'great gap' between words and deeds is to be bridged, it is essential from the national standpoint to consider public provision of adult education in relation to the general goals of social and economic planning.[4] If social and economic progress is not to be retarded, both public and private investment in capital goods have to be complemented by a systematic investment in the knowledge and skills of the adult population. This is not simply a question of improving job performance, but of raising the general level of applied intelligence.

To plead for the systematic planning of adult education alongside other areas of social policy is warranted on grounds of social justice and economic efficiency. There is, however, a more cautious and, some would argue, more compelling case to put to governments, namely, that in many countries a relatively small injection of public financing

1. Unesco, *Educational Planning: A World Survey of Problems and Prospects*, p. 10, Paris, Unesco, 1970.
2. Unesco, *Educational Planning. . .*, op. cit., p. 39.
3. Coombs *et al.*, *Attacking Rural Poverty. . .*, op.cit., p. 20.
4. cf. W. Clement, *Strategies for the Structural Organisation of Adult Education within a Permanent Education Framework, passim*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1973.

would transform the scale and effectiveness of the present provision on condition that all available resources were fully exploited. This would entail identifying all the bits and pieces of current adult educational programmes in order to determine whether or not they might form the basis of a system that can be articulated and supported by governments as a going concern. A recent committee of inquiry into adult education in England and Wales adopted this approach:[1]

> It is not necessary for us to prepare a great new system with vast outlay of public money: we have sought to show the remarkable potentialities of an intelligent employment of resources already in being.

In other words, provided government will view adult education as an integral part of the general education service and invest more public funds than at present in its expansion, the potential resources are already at hand to produce a comprehensive and flexible system. That approach may be regarded as typical of British pragmatism: do not ask for the moon because it is out of reach; rather, see how we can improve what we already have with the minimum of structural change and public expenditure.

Such a gradualist approach certainly has some merit. It reassures governments that they are not being called upon to build a system without foundations or to find extraordinary sums of money or even to divert funds from the formal sector. Ultimately, however, it is faint-hearted and it is not without significance that many people within the United Kingdom itself have strongly criticized the report for being timorous and unimaginative. Moreover, the recommendations of the committee, modest though they are, have not yet been implemented, seemingly because the British government remains unconvinced that the education of adults is a high priority, except in a narrow industrial training perspective.

The inescapable conclusion is that governments are unimpressed by the argument that expansion will not cost much money. Ironically, they pay more respect to proposals that will clearly cost a good deal of money, especially if, as is the case with adult education, it can be shown that a high rate of return will accrue from their investment. This is why they are increasingly lending their support to occupational training programmes. What they must further appreciate is that an adult population enjoying a higher level of general education will not only produce additional goods and services but provide the community with more voluntary community action and thereby save on health and social welfare expenditure.

To expand adult education services on the scale required will, then, cost money. It does not follow, however, that that money must come out of additional revenue. The time is now clearly opportune

1. *Adult Education. . .*, op. cit., p. 4.

in a great number of countries for a re-allocation of expenditure within the global educational budget. This is particularly true of those developing countries which, unencumbered by an elaborate and historically entrenched educational system, can still select alternatives to providing the young with long years of compulsory schooling. Instead they can opt for selective schemes of recurrent education and the widespread use of non-formal methods. This point is made by the authors of a recent report on the problem of improving the prospects of children and young people living in the deprived rural areas of developing countries.[1] They argue that:[2]

> . . . the concepts and models of 'adult education' originating in Western nations—where adults are legally defined as those who have reached their majority (usually at about age 21) and where most of them have already had at least ten full years of schooling—need drastic redefinition to fit the needs and conditions of developing countries. This, of course, is happening, though perhaps not fast enough.

We may also consider the following *cri de cœur* and the conclusion drawn from it:[3]

> When over half the nation is illiterate and the people clamour for education; when public expenditure on education is mounting, but the number of children who are denied the right to education is increasing; when classroom techniques are autocratic and teachers are in short supply and inadequately trained; when governments and private firms demand recruits, but unemployment is widespread and is increasing; when a country is poor, what policies should the national officials responsible for the planning of educational development pursue?

When a country faces all those problems, W. Sentega Kajubi concludes that it is necessary to reappraise the central role of the school and to 'increase the quantity and quality of educational facilities within the limits of the present resources'. He further concludes that:[4]

1. Many recent reports have drawn attention to the relative freedom of action open to countries in the Third World. For example: 'Developing countries are, however, clearly superior to the older civilizations in Europe and to all highly industrialized nations in one respect: their educational structures, being more recent or in the process of being set up, and the men who operate them being less committed to traditional educational procedures, offer less resistance to innovation, in the form of inertia, conservatism and school traditions, than do those countries which may be, historically, the creators of modern education but which are now out of date. The terrain is incontestably more open to action in the developing countries.'—H. Janne, 'New Trends in Adult Education: Concepts and Recent Empirical Achievements', p. 30, Paris, Unesco, 1972 (unpublished).
2. Coombs, *et al.*, *New Paths*. . ., op. cit., p. 19.
3. W. Sentega Kajubi, 'Educational Priorities in Africa', *Prospects*, Vol. III, No. 1, Spring, 1973, p. 77.
4. ibid.

> A much larger share of public educational spending must be directed towards adult and continuing non-formal education than has been traditionally the case.

A similar conclusion is reached by Irene Salas:[1]

> Careful study of the situation might make it possible to transfer some 50 per cent of what is taught in the traditional system to lifelong education courses, with a consequent saving in resources in the traditional system which could in part be used for the financing of lifelong education.

In a recent article J. H. Eedle boldly stated that:[2]

> Funds for informal education will inevitably have to be drawn from the public sector.

In the more developed countries, governments can scarcely be expected to face the political nightmare of trying to reduce the period of compulsory schooling at the end of a historical phase when all the pressure was to prolong it, but they can choose to reduce the amount of time spent in full-time education by those over school age and substitute schemes of recurrent education which may well be more effective or at least as effective in pedagogical terms as the present full-time system and will certainly lower costs.

It was pointed out above that so as to ensure that the educational needs of adults are met, the State does not have to furnish an adult education service under its own express control. It can choose to share the load by establishing a working partnership with non-governmental agencies, as in India and the United Kingdom, or to entrust direct provision very largely to such agencies as in Sweden. The vital desideratum is that the State should establish suitable machinery for ensuring that the provision is adequate and that neither particular groups of people nor particular regional areas are victims of the kind of discrimination referred to in preceding chapters. Only the State is in a position to take the over-all view, to determine norms of provision, to locate gaps and see that they are filled, to encourage research and development and to exercise regulatory supervision. And only the State is in a position to ensure that non-formal education and independent learning are treated as part of the general provision.

Yet the true key to an adequate scale and quality of provision is not to be found at the national but at the local level, for it is only at the local level that micro-plans can be drawn up for the effective use of human and physical resources. It is accordingly necessary for a State to follow the example of such countries as China and Sweden where a duty is laid upon local government authorities to ensure a

1. Salas, op. cit., p. 74.
2. J. H. Eedle, 'Financing Education in Developing Countries', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 7, No. 2, November 1971, p. 68.

minimal level of provision. On the other hand, only the central government can redress serious imbalances between localities by allocating special subsidies to those areas with special needs but resources below the national norm. Several countries are now trying to effect an equitable balance between areas by stipulating that a minimum number of staff and a minimum level of public expenditure should be deployed for prescribed percentiles of the population. In the first instance this clearly predicates that priority will be given to raising the standards of provision within those areas falling below the norm.

So far we have been discussing the need to treat adult education as a public service within the context of national plans for economic and social development. We now turn to ways and means of inaugurating and sustaining such a service.

The first priority is for governments to enact laws and regulations, as they have already done for the formal system, specifying minimum standards of provision.[1] Experience has shown that mere exhortations are worthless and that permissive legislation carries little weight with ministries of education, autonomous or quasi-autonomous local government units, and employers. As yet, few countries—in Norway adult education is legally regarded as a completely integrated part of the educational system—have enacted legislation in support of a prescribed minimum amount of provision and minimum scales of financial expenditure. Laws do exist, however, conferring the right to education upon certain categories of adults. For example, in the U.S.S.R., adults up to the age of 35 are entitled to follow any course available in the formal system of education provided only that they have the appropriate qualifications for admission. Other countries have passed legislation in support of specific programmes such as literacy classes. Several countries have singled out women as being entitled to equal right of access to certain forms of education. But the largest amount of legislation relates to work release and paid leave. Indeed, much of the social demand for adult education facilities has been generated by the increasing importance attached to occupational training, not only for school-leavers but for adults as well. Governments have come to perceive that they must assume some responsibility for occupational training, if not directly, at least by applying legal sanctions upon employers. These sanctions include requiring employers to offer training opportunities and to release employees from work in order to take advantage of such opportunities.

1. The phrase 'adult education' occurs in very few national education acts. No country has any thought of making adult education compulsory but it is to be noted that: (a) in certain countries it is socially difficult to escape from educational activities engaged in at work or in communities as a collective experience; (b) in certain countries licence to continue practising a profession depends upon attendance at prescribed retraining and updating courses.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) sees paid educational leave:[1]

> . . . as freeing wage earners and salaried employees for various educational purposes during their normal working time, for specified periods and without loss of income, granted under statutory provisions, collective agreements or other types of arrangements.

Appropriate laws exist in Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. The Federal Republic of Germany is prepared under the terms of the Federal Law to Promote Employment to offer extensive compensation for expenses and loss of pay or income. Family maintenance is also to be ensured during this period. Compensation amounted to a mere DM.4.6 million in 1962 but had risen to DM.572.3 by 1970. The total expenditure on compensation for 1971 reached the high order of approximately DM.1,000 million. In France, a Law on Occupational Training was enacted in 1971. In the year following its enactment, 85 per cent of the employers in question applied the law; 850,000 employees benefited from a period of training averaging 60 hours; the total expenditure represented 18 per cent of the national education budget. The complete text of the law was published in the *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 17 July 1971. Uniquely, in France the legislation relating to paid leave recognizes the individual's right to undertake full-time training for his own benefit rather than that of his employer. In some countries where governments merely recommend employers to permit work release it is significant that the practice is not widespread.

Whether relevant legislation exists or not, virtually all governments acknowledge some degree of responsibility for seeing that at least some non-vocational and vocational adult educational services are available. The extent of supervision varies enormously, however, as does the administrative pattern.

An issue of fundamental importance is the nature of the relationship between adult education and the formal education system.[2] As J. A. Simpson has pointed out:[3]

> It must be remembered, too, that the structures of national, governmental and administrative organization nowhere correspond with the broad concept of 'post school education'.

1. ILO, *Paid Educational Leave* p. 4, Geneva, ILO, 1971.
2. Strangely, it is claimed in a recent report that: 'Nonetheless we may note here that there now exists a concept of *the independent development of adult education*, whereas hitherto it was associated with school education, in the sense that it was usually conceived of as a prolongation of school'—Janne, op. cit., p. 4. It would be interesting to know on what 'empirical' evidence that judgement is based.
3. Simpson, op. cit., p. 14.

> There is no single ministry charged with its supervision and finance. It is a new concept which covers education coming at present within the purview of several government departments or several different branches within one department.

The *de facto* relationship between adult education and the formal system is normally tenuous. In most countries there is no statutory relationship whatsoever although, under a strictly adult education rubric, adults may well be following courses that duplicate the curricula of the formal institution. Adults can also sometimes obtain qualifications under adult education programmes that carry the same weight as academic certificates and diplomas in the eyes of employers.

But the notion of lifelong education demands more than that adult education should function as a mere alternative to the normal academic route. It implies that the two sectors interpenetrate and reinforce each other and that there is a vital interchange between adult educators and other educators. It is this dynamic interaction that is a potential goal rather than a present reality.

Adult educators commonly suppose that although their field is probably making some impact on the compulsory secor, it is not itself being reciprocally affected by the formal sector. Such evidence as there is suggests, to the contrary, that formal structures and teachers are impervious to the influence of adult education but in many countries impose their own values and methods upon adult education in so far as they come in contact with it. In some Latin American countries, for example, the parallelism between the regular secondary schools and adult 'secondary-level' programmes is absolute; the former quite simply dominate the latter and resist all attempts at a counter-influence.

For all practical purposes absolute separation of adult education programmes from the formal education system can usually be ruled out since it is a very rich country indeed which can afford not to use existing school buildings and equipment and not to employ at least some regular teachers. Beyond that constraint, countries hold conflicting views of what integration entails. For some it implies offering adults exactly the same curriculum, taught by the same methods, as is found in the schools or universities. Others interpret it as implying practical measures to implement a scheme of lifelong or recurrent education. Currently, four approaches can be discerned: (a) to regard all adult education services as quite distinct from the general educational service; (b) to distinguish between formal education programmes for adults which are incorporated in the general service, and out-of-school education programmes which are administered separately; (c) to embody a comprehensive adult education service within the general service but in practice to finance and administer it separately; (d) effectively to integrate the adult education sector with the formal sector. There is something to be said for each approach. A number

of countries see distinct advantages in keeping adult education apart from the general service, often to the extent of placing it under the control of a ministry other than a ministry of education. The logic of such a separation is that the needs of adults and the young are different and so they should be catered for by different administrative arrangements. The needs are certainly different when the overriding aim of adult education is seen to be community development or, more specifically, rural development. Then it is not unreasonable to give responsibility to a ministry of community development or agriculture. Similarly, if the top priority is manpower training, the ministry of labour would seem the appropriate overlord. But to hand over responsibility for adult education to a ministry not primarily concerned with pursuing general educational goals is to run the risk of condemning it in perpetuity to a narrow function. At best, therefore, to delegate responsibility to a ministry whose principal interests lie outside education should be regarded as a short-term expedient.[1]

Among adult educators there is a widely held view that ministries of education, as well as administrators and teachers employed by the formal system, are either hostile or indifferent to adult education. Having themselves emerged with academic distinction from the formal system, ministry officials view adult education as beneath their concern or, at best, as a low-level, salvage operation for the illiterate. They approve of its aims in proportion as those aims correspond with those of the formal system. They have little sympathy for such propositions as education for rural development. By contrast, it is sometimes claimed that officials and politicians concerned with economic development or social administration are quickly receptive to the social and economic aims of adult education. The implication is that the latter really care about the general well-being of society and are experimentally minded whereas the former are narrow-minded, élitist and conservative. No doubt this is a caricature, but the hard fact remains that the contrast is consistently drawn by adult educators from a variety of cultures who believe that there is accordingly a sound operational reason for resisting control by a ministry of education. The caricature must therefore be taken seriously. What is certain is that nearly all ministries of education seem to have dif-

1. It may no longer be fanciful to propose that an independent ministry of adult education, or at least adult and higher education, be established. When out of office the Labour Party in the United Kingdom recently appointed a working party on higher education which recommended: 'In future, all educational provision for students aged 18 plus should be termed Adult Education. All part-time and full-time education of young people up to the end of the academic year in which they are 18 should also be included in a single sector of education. . . . This sector might be termed Tertiary Education.'—The Labour Party, *Higher and Further Education: Report of a Labour Party Study Group*, p. 37, London, 1973.

ficulty in escaping from their preoccupation with the formal system.[1]

A second approach to the problem of integration is to distinguish operationally between academic and non-academic education, allocating the first to a ministry of education and the second to a separate ministry, for example, a ministry of community development or to public boards or non-governmental agencies. The drawback to this administrative device is that it fragments the service and tends to lead in the public eye to the down-grading of the non-formal programmes. A potential advantage is that the non-formal side may have greater freedom to experiment.

A third approach is for the ministry of education to assume formal control of adult education but in effect to administer it as a separate entity. In other words, to treat integration as merely nominal. Not much harm is caused by this expedient when reasonable resources are made available but all too often they are not. Furthermore, the possibility is removed of relating adult education to the rest of the educational system within a co-ordinated framework.

The fourth approach is for governments genuinely to treat adult education as an integral component of a unified educational system. This usually happens nowadays when a government, as in Sweden or Czechoslovakia, firmly resolves to accept the administrative implications of lifelong education. There are then calculated attempts even to go so far as to shift resources from the pre-adult to the adult sector and to establish multi-purpose educational institutions like the community school. Both the school system and the adult education system are also modified in the light of their impact on each other. For example, the curriculum of the secondary school is broadened and the young student is given more options to choose from and more freedom to study independently. These three developments bring secondary-level education much closer to the learning habits of adults.

To sum up: the advantages of separating adult education from the general education service, either explicitly or *de facto*, are that it emphasizes the distinctiveness of adult education, helps to ensure that adult education is not despised as the pariah of the educational system and reduces the risk that a ministry of education will constrain it in a conventional strait-jacket. The disadvantages of separation are that if adult education is everyone's business it is effectively no-one's business; it leads to unnecessary expenditure and to further dispersion of scarce resources; it makes the recruitment of competent full-time staff even more difficult than it is at present because nearly all educators feel that their careers are insecure when they have to step outside the formal education system.[2] Above all, it militates against the adop-

1. An additional argument against assigning formal responsibility for adult education to a ministry of education is that other government departments may consider themselves absolved from playing a role on their own account.
2. See p. 133-4.

tion of a lifelong educational model; one of the dominant themes of *Learning to Be* is that the division between school and out-of-school education must be abolished. Circumstances differ from country to country but this last point would seem to clinch the agreement in favour of integration.[1]

As to methods of integration, the most common is to create a division of adult education within the ministry of education. The Philippines took this step as long ago as 1947 and there is now a perceptible trend for other countries to do the same. In Norway, the Department of Adult Education enjoys precisely the same status as other departments.

Another striking trend is to create statutory national boards, charged with the dual function of providing a nation-wide service and co-ordinating the activities of the multifarious agencies engaged in the field. The Singapore Adult Education Board was established in 1960 but has not attracted the attention that it deserves. Much greater international interest has since been aroused by the Kenya Board of Adult Education, set up in 1966, because of the breadth of its functions and the potential lessons it can provide for other African countries. Burma has established an unusually comprehensive co-ordinating machinery:[2]

> A Central Literacy Supervisory and Co-ordinating Committee has been formed under the Ministry of Education. It includes the Education Ministry, Information Ministry, the Central Security and Administrative Committee, the Burma Socialist Programme Party, the Central People's Workers' and Peasants' Councils, Village and Land Committees, and education officials.
>
> This committee is duplicated at the district, township and village levels to ensure active co-ordination and co-operation between the multitude of governmental and non-governmental bodies, and also between the public and private sectors for the carrying out of adult education activities and the posting of the community resources.

In the West European tradition of adult education, which has had a world-wide influence, there used to be a strong belief that adult education was essentially a private, voluntary activity best left to the care of private or non-governmental agencies. At the Elsinore Conference in 1949, many delegates argued vigorously in favour of the voluntary principle. The same argument was raised at the Montreal Conference but this time

1. The first clause of a draft law for adult education in Greece reads: 'Adult Education is a constituent part of the educational system, the aim of which is to encourage the lifelong development of every citizen, both as an individual and as a member of society.'
2. Evidence submitted for the Tokyo Conference.

> . . . many members expressed doubts as to the complete validity of the thesis in terms of the conditions operating in an age of rapidly accelerating scientific and technological change!

And Hely commented on the debate:[1]

> . . . adult education was pioneered by individuals, and by the voluntary movements and organisations they founded or inspired. Much was achieved, and much is still being achieved, by the voluntary co-operation of adults and the efforts and activities of the organizations they serve. Yet with the growing demand for adult education, with increasing pressure on governments to finance adult education facilities, there is a tendency both for statutory bodies or government bodies to undertake many of the functions performed previously by voluntary organisations and for the amateur to give way to the professional.

In the end the delegates at Montreal agreed on a compromise formula:[2]

> . . . that in reorganizing to meet the adult education needs of today, the real value of voluntary organizations and the contribution they can make should not be ignored.

By 1974 belief in the central role of voluntary organizations had not been abandoned in many Western European countries but it had undoubtedly been weakened. In his recent comparative survey prepared for the Council of Europe, J. A. Simpson put forward a catholic definition of adult education but capped it by adding 'which is provided or supported or *approved by public authorities*'.[3] The inference is that adult education must carry the *imprimatur* of the State. Perhaps Simpson is assuming that countries belonging to the Council of Europe can always be counted upon to be marvellously enlightened. But such a statement would not have been made even ten years ago.

Most governments, in or out of Western Europe, certainly do not subscribe to the view that adult education should be primarily a voluntary activity. They recognize that, since adults have learning needs too relevant to State policy and too costly and various for private agencies or commercial undertakings to satisfy, adult education must be a public service drawing upon public funds. A few governments, moreover, take the ideological stance that adult education must be its own exclusive preserve so that national rather than sectional priorities can be determined and resources equitably distributed.

Nevertheless, a number of governments still attach undiminished esteem to the work of voluntary organizations. The Committee of Enquiry into Adult Education in England and Wales came down strangely in favour of an 'untidy pluralism'[4] and many governments

1. Hely, op. cit., p. 103.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 21.
3. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 12.
4. cf. Jones, op. cit., p. 5.

realize that non-governmental institutions are less likely to become static than public institutions. The Scandinavian countries give non-governmental agencies financial support and refrain from interference with the aims, content and methods of their programmes. The Swedish government is prepared to meet up to 75 per cent of teachers' and group leaders' fees and to supply learning resources. The Indian government subsidizes the activities of a host of agencies, as does Austria, which recently greatly increased its financial subventions. Other governments admit that non-governmental agencies have an important contribution to make but insist upon co-ordinating their activities. For this very purpose, Peru has established a permanent co-ordinating council.

Whether to support or not support non-governmental agencies is a decision that governments have to take in the light of tradition and the scope of available resources. When resources are scarce it may be better that the public authorities on their own account should concentrate upon providing an efficient, if limited service, rather than spread subsidies thinly over a number of agencies. Given reasonable resources, however, the only circumstances in which support for non-governmental agencies would seem to be unjustified are when governments abdicate from their own responsibility to provide services or when there is calculated discrimination against particular agencies or when there is wasteful duplication. What is certain is that when governments abdicate responsibility for the co-ordination of activities the result is disastrous for adult education.

In practice, the adult education service in a given community will frequently reveal duplicated programmes on the one hand and large unfilled gaps on the other. This is true, for example, of non-formal programmes in developing countries:[1]

> Viewed in the large, non-formal education in all of the countries examined presents a picture of extreme fragmentation, reflecting the diversity of sponsors and the natural inclinations of each sponsor to concentrate on its own particular speciality or enthusiasm, to run its own show free of interference or obligation to others.

In some communities adult educators and other professional workers pursuing interlocking aims are like bees buzzing around a honey-pot, whereas other communities are starved of professional help of any kind. The solution is to guarantee planning, control and co-ordination at both the national and local levels. Measures to bring about more effective co-ordination are undoubtedly now on the increase, inspired sometimes by government, sometimes by non-governmental agencies and sometimes by professional adult educators, especially those operating at the local community level.

1. ICED, op. cit., p. 22.

At the national level co-ordination between ministries is absolutely essential. Yet in most countries conflicts of interest between ministries and overlapping provision of programmes are not at all uncommon. Competition for scanty resources between community development and adult education services is particularly noticeable in developing countries. The main reason why such wasteful conflict has recently become more acute is that adult education programmes have rapidly mushroomed under the direction of many ministries other than education, notably the portfolios dealing with agriculture, labour, health and social welfare.[1] The problem is compounded by the fact that these new programmes are seldom identified with adult education as such.

There are two ways of ensuring inter-ministerial co-ordination. One is to place ultimate control of all adult education programmes in one ministry and to require the minister to devise suitable co-ordinating machinery. Another method is to charge a public board with the task. In practice, this second alternative appears also to serve the purpose, in Kenya and Nigeria, for example, of ensuring collaboration not only between ministries but also between ministries and external bodies, for what the boards do is to bring together representatives both of the key ministries and of such leading non-governmental agencies as the universities and trade unions.

In the socialist countries of Eastern Europe the government as a rule controls and co-ordinates all adult educational activities at all levels. For this purpose, Romania has set up a Council of Culture and Socialist Education. The National Council for Co-ordinating Activities in Peru performs a similar function. Thailand established in 1966 a National Committee of Adult Education, chaired by the Minister of Education and comprising, among other members, undersecretaries from interested ministries.

In a few other countries, the specific problem of inter-ministerial co-operation is not tackled directly but the government has set up a national co-ordinating council. In 1966, Nigeria established a National Council for Adult Education which, exceptionally, is a non-governmental body despite the fact that, together with representatives of

1. The evidence submitted to Unesco in preparation for the Tokyo Conference showed that miscellaneous ministries and departments provide adult education for specific purposes, namely: education and fine arts; science and research; culture and recreation; health; youth and sports; agriculture and forestry; lands and fisheries; commerce, trade and industry; labour and social welfare; community development and welfare; information; posts, communications and telecommunications; planning, development and reconstruction; housing and urban development; office of economic expansion; department of manpower and immigration; office of aboriginal affairs; finance; defence and armed forces; interior—home affairs; public affairs; foreign affairs; religion; justice; police; co-operative extension service; national correction agencies; national parks service.

the universities, voluntary organizations and the press, it contains representatives of the twelve federal states. In the United Republic of Tanzania there is a National Adult Education Council. The Norwegian State Adult Education Council initiates and co-ordinates adult education activities throughout the country.

Certain aspects of adult education, especially agricultural extension and occupational training, are frequently regulated by a national advisory body. Thus, in France, the Prime Minister himself presides over the National Council for Professional Training, Social Development and Employment. It must be stated, however, that most countries have not set up statutory bodies either to prevent inter-ministerial strife or to ensure, if not a systematized approach to adult education, at least the avoidance of destructive competition between agencies and the waste of resources. Even in the utilitarian field of occupational training there may be confusion:[1]

> Training facilities for adults are provided by a great variety of public and private bodies, and the field is so complex that problems of co-ordination are well-nigh insuperable and militate against any attempt at planning.

Brief though their existence has been, statutory adult education boards, comprising governmental and non-governmental representatives, have already proved their worth and seem to be an ideal instrument for exercising control and co-ordination. Yet in the last resort, it is futile to search for an ideal model since every country has its own traditional methods of consultation and faces unique demands and problems. The grip of tradition is most tenacious in those countries where adult education is seen primarily as an activity which ought to be stimulated by voluntary rather than governmental initiative. In such countries, national associations have evolved independently of governmental influence or even concern, though in the course of time many of them have decided to squeeze as much financial support from the State as they can contrive without compromising their autonomy. The trend to form national associations has accelerated since about 1960 and there is abundant evidence that the few associations with a long lineage have broadened and diversified their functions.[2]

1. Unesco, *Educational Planning. . .*, op. cit., p. 38.
2. The list of national associations now includes the Austrian Conference of Adult Education, the Adult Education Association of the United States, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, L'Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes, the National Institute of Adult Education in England and Wales, the Finnish Association of Adult Education Associations, the Scottish Institute of Adult Education, the Australian Adult Education Association and the New Zealand Adult Education Association. Sweden contains no fewer than twelve adult education associations, which recently federated into a national Popular Association. In the Netherlands there is the Dutch Centre of Adult Education. National associations also exist in Belgium, Denmark, Finland and Israel. In Yugoslavia there is an association for adult education in each of the republics.

Naturally, there are variations in the precise roles played by these national associations but all share certain functions in common with one another which, incidentally, also characterize the statutory adult education boards. These include providing a forum for national debate on current issues and policies, collecting and disseminating information, carrying out research, initiating experimental projects directly or indirectly, and maintaining a library and documentation centre. Above all, the associations proclaim adult education services as an invaluable national asset and attempt to exert pressure for greater assistance upon governments, politicians, employers and, not least, upon the formal education system. Their success in this endeavour appears to have been relatively limited up to the present time. Other lobbies, including educational ones, are better organized and more incisive.

There is clearly a case for governments to preserve national associations wherever they exist and not to supplant them by committees or boards under governmental control, for the latter may too easily be transformed into mere instruments of government policy, which in turn may be geared exclusively to labour market considerations or at least to restricted educational goals. By contrast, independent associations are free to indicate what the government itself ought to be doing. Certainly, there is scarcely room for both a national independent association and a national government board. The best arrangement would seem to be one which, as in Nigeria, permits a statutory board, comprising both governmental and non-governmental representatives and publicly financed, to enjoy autonomy. The risk has to be faced that the government piper may wish to call the tune.

The local organization of adult education is absolutely essential. The duly elected authority must both provide adult education directly and assist other agencies to do so. Yet co-ordination at the local level, where the great majority of programmes are actually designed and carried out, is often less easy to procure than at the national level. The more a country devolves control of adult education upon local government authorities, the more predictable it is that in some areas confusion will reign. The necessary conclusion is that a national scheme of co-ordination has to be backed up by local schemes of co-ordination, enforceable by law. Indeed, the composition of the national board or committee has to be broadly reflected in the composition of local boards or committees. Sweden is aware of this need and in many localities has established adult education councils consisting of representatives of the local education authority, educational associations, libraries, trade union organizations and folk high schools. The United Republic of Tanzania has set up district committees. Canada has many local advisory councils.

The question is: who is to be responsible for ensuring local co-operation? Except in those countries where the custom of voluntary

association is deeply entrenched, it is realistic to accord responsibility to the local government. As at the national level, it is not necessary that the local government authority should directly control, but rather that it should guarantee that consultation takes place by one means or another and, where appropriate, supplement national subsidies to both public and private institutions. A committee of inquiry into adult education in England and Wales, in 1973, recommended that every area should have a local development council for adult education:[1]

> We have in mind an ad hoc council widely representative of those who have an interest in adult education as providers or users and students. Representatives might be drawn from the major providing bodies, the educational and quasi-educational institutions, associations of tutors and teachers, industry, voluntary, social and community organisations, associations for the disadvantaged, local radio, local societies, students' councils of adult education institutions and similar bodies. The major functions would be: to facilitate discussion and consultation between all those interested in adult education so as to review and influence the planning of adult education in the area; to ensure that needs are met and that full advantage is taken of the cultural and educational resources of the area; to indicate directions in which provision is inadequate and to sponsor or suggest experiments.

What should be the size of a local co-ordinating committee. The United Kingdom committee is in favour of a really large body for two reasons:[2]

> ... as a means of involving the wide range of contributing interests in the planning of the service, and as a physical manifestation to all concerned of the extent to which the service permeates the whole life of the community.

The reasons are valid but large bodies have a habit of becoming amorphous and lacking bite, not to speak of falling under the control of a self-perpetuating oligarchy. Thus, although it may be necessary to create a large body for the sake of image-building, in order to ensure continuity and positive action it is necessary to appoint a small executive body, the members of which are periodically required to stand down.

Before leaving the subject of co-ordination, three caveats are called for. The first is that co-ordinating mechanisms can be used not only to cut out duplication and waste but to maintain the *status quo*. Now the object of co-ordination is as much to ensure that unfulfilled needs are met as to preserve the established order. It would be a pity if improved co-ordination were to result in stagnation. The second caveat

1. *Adult Education. . .*, op. cit., p. 57–8.
2. *Adult Education. . .*, op. cit., p. 58.

is that local committees must be comprised of activists and not representatives who are appointed or elected for purely political or honorific purposes. Dr J. C. Mathur is adamant on this point:[1]

> Co-ordination has to be attempted through some well-known devices such as co-ordination committees or action groups or task forces which should be different from the large bodies of the unwilling and uninvolved as many co-ordination committees are. People who are actually responsible for various aspects of the programme should be members, and they should be there not as advisers, but be answerable for different elements of the programme. At every level, there may have to be a co-ordinator.

The third and most important caveat is that co-ordinating bodies are likely to be ineffective unless they control funds and wield some executive power.

In the foregoing paragraphs the impression may have been given that co-ordination is easy to arrange. The evidence shows that this is not so. So many interests and personalities are normally involved even at the village level that acceptance of a common purpose or a mere gentleman's agreement to differ are difficult to achieve. National histories of adult education contain numerous examples of rival organizations warring over scarce resources from positions of grave weakness. Nor is co-ordination a prize that can be won once for all. Yet without a permanent and conscientious effort to obtain co-ordination, adult education will continue to present a fragmentary appearance and suffer in public esteem accordingly.

1. J. C. Mathur, *Adult Education for Farmers*, p. 17, New Delhi, 1972.

Chapter 9

The problem of financing

> In most countries however, the purse-strings were kept tightly drawn and adult education got the crumbs from school education's well laden table. . . it was noted that those who were nationally responsible, politicians and administrators alike, were simply not alive to the objectives of adult education, and that expenditures for adult education were considered to be optional expenditures.[1]

If government control and co-ordination of adult education, directly or by delegation, is a crucial prerequisite for expansion, no less so is an adequate level of governmental expenditure. Some adult educators are cynical about the hypocrisy of politicians who wax lyrical over the social and economic value of adult education but steadfastly fail to commit substantial public funds to its development on a permanent basis. Whereas the schools and universities are always sure of receiving a large slice of the national income, the adult education services receive small and often derisory grants[2] and are the first to feel the draught of retrenchment. Wherever they may be gathered together, professional adult educators are wont to complain that their programmes are the last to be financed and the first to be cut in times of economic stringency. The inadequacy and instability of revenue have led delegates at a number of recent national and regional conferences to urge that a fixed percentage of aggregate educational budgets should automatically be set aside for adult education. When ministers have the time and a motive to listen to the pleading of adult educators, they perceive

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 26.
2. Unesco conducted a survey for the period 1968/69 which revealed that nineteen out of thirty-nine respondent countries spent less than 1 per cent of their total educational expenditure on adult education; ten spent from 1 to 2 per cent; six spent 2 to 3 per cent; four spent more than 3 per cent.

that there is a good case. Thus, at the 1964 meeting in Addis Ababa of African ministers of education it was agreed that 4 per cent of educational budgets should henceforth be earmarked for adult education.[1] Nowhere has that resolution been enforced. The difficulty is, of course, that adult education is trapped in a vicious circle, as W. V. Bell has shrewdly pointed out:[2]

> An adequate adult education programme requires adequate financial support; achieving adequate financial support depends upon the education of adults. This cyclic dilemma is basic and common to leaders of adult education in all areas—tax-supported institutions, private agencies, and co-ordinative organizations. How can public recognition of the value of adult education be developed within the respective constituencies sufficiently to evoke responsible action? The financial and the educational elements of this question are inextricably linked. Each exerts a controlling influence on the other.

The shortage of money for adult education is often aggravated by the fact that it is inequitably distributed in terms of actual needs. Many allocations from public funds are made to agencies with existing programmes or to agencies which submit bids for the financing of newly minted programmes. Now, as indicated in Chapter 2, such agencies are usually concentrated in particular geographical areas and cater largely for privileged social groups. In order to ensure that funds are disbursed to geographical areas and social groups in greatest need, it is evident that special machinery should be set up for determining priorities and allocating resources. This could entail giving no money at all in support of many existing programmes but inviting bids from agencies prepared to arrange the kind of programmes deemed socially necessary.

The one branch of adult education which has fared at all well is that of occupational training, upon which in some countries governments and commercial undertakings alike often expend vast sums of money. In such estimates of national expenditure on adult education as have been made, the point has been reiterated that expenditure on this particular form is many times greater than that on all other forms combined. Such expenditure includes not only direct training costs but payment of salaries during leave of absence from work, travelling expenses and bonuses for professional upgrading of skills.

Despite the lamentations of adult educators, the financing of adult education is a strangely neglected subject of study and research. In Hely's otherwise comprehensive survey of issues and trends it went

1. In a statement prepared for the Tokyo Conference, the United Republic of Tanzania declared that 'all governments should earmark at least 5% to 20% of their total annual education budget for adult education'.
2. W. V. Bell, 'Finance, Legislation, and Public Policy for Adult Education', in Knowles (ed.), op. cit., p. 138.

virtually unmentioned.[1] The report of a meeting organized by the Council of Europe in 1968 noted:[2]

> Naturally, we must first of all try to find out how adult education is financed nowadays, because no such study has yet been made, nor is it an easy matter.

To obtain reliable figures for adult education expenditure is indeed exceedingly difficult even in highly industrialized countries.[3] Much expenditure in both public and private sectors is hidden under a variety of budgetary headings. Moreover, few attempts have been made to estimate the monetary value of such non-teaching charges as free accommodation. For the purposes of international inquiries, countries submit statistics that are not susceptible to comparison.

An adult education service commensurate with the scale of latent social demand can be provided only when the State is prepared to make frequent grants for capital expenditure and annual grants for recurrent expenditure. The question remains open, however, whether the State should be a direct provider or contract out all or part of the work to non-governmental agencies. As with control and co-ordination, the choice ultimately depends upon national custom. The trend to integrate all forms of education within a lifelong education framework would seem to suggest, however, that public provision is bound to increase.

Adult education agencies obtain their income from one or more of four sources: national and local taxation; private expenditure; participants' fees; grant-awarding bodies. Out of thirty-two countries in 1969 supplying information to Unesco on the financing of adult education, four out of seven industrially advanced countries declared that the State made available 50 per cent of the funds; one (the United Kingdom) reported 45 per cent, Poland roughly 11 per cent and Switzerland less than 2 per cent. Nineteen out of twenty-five developing countries reported the proportion of State expenditure as more than 50 per cent of the whole. These figures are speculative[4] but clearly

1. The subject is also entirely ignored in the excellent United States survey, by E. de S. Brunner, *et al.*, op. cit., 3rd impr. 1967.
2. Council for Cultural Co-operation, Committee for Out of School Education, *Financial Aspects of Adult Education*, p. 5, Strasbourg, 1969.
3. Government ministries in Norway are unusual in that they can produce exact details of their expenditure on adult education. In 1970, for example, no fewer than thirteen ministries other than the Ministry of Church and Education spent sums on adult education varying from 585 to 18,056 kroner. Expenditure by the Ministry of Church and Education represented approximately 25 per cent of the total expenditure of all ministries, and this total, in turn, represented approximately 0.65 per cent of the total educational budget.
4. Speculative, to say the least. To estimate even the approximate expenditure on adult education of ministries of education is not easy since many programmes are not recorded as specific budgetary items. Ministries other than education also spend considerable sums on such activities as industrial training and agricultural extension. Moreover, local government expenditure is more often than not an unknown factor.

indicate a substantial State contribution to the national aggregate expenditure whatever that expenditure may be worth in real terms.

Regrettably, expenditure in some countries has decreased during the last ten years or so but taking countries as a whole there has been a tendency for government expenditure to increase, however slowly.[1] A few countries are obviously quite determined to put the financing of adult education on a sound footing. Sweden now allocates no less than 14 per cent and the United Republic of Tanzania about 10 per cent of their gross expenditures on all forms of education. Nigeria requires that 10 per cent of the income accruing from its Industrial Training Fund be earmarked for general adult educational services, an encouraging example of a government determined to keep in its sights other goals than technological progress. In a recent report the Committee for Out-of-School Education of the Council of Europe took the view that:[2]

> All organizations which in their educational work serve the interest of the community should be entitled to receive a public financial assistance for adult education. Such organizations should: promote education and not merely entertainment; play a sustained part in a definite educational programme; be prepared to provide full information about the numbers of their participants, activities and aims; not be exclusive or inward looking but serve the general interest.

Among the countries which believe in generously subsidizing non-governmental agencies are Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom. But it is noticeable that such grants are seldom intended to cover the entire expenditure of the recipients. This is because governments fear that agencies will become lax if they are completely cushioned financially, while for their part agencies realize that they may forfeit their freedom of action if they cannot raise at least some income on their own account. Many central government grants are also made for a fixed term only, either to permit an agency to become firmly established or to prime the pump for a special project. Judicious allocations of public funds both at the national and the local level to facilitate the development of experimental programmes can yield splendid results at relatively low cost.

Some governments do not make direct financial grants to non-governmental agencies but assist them in a variety of ways which effectively reduce their costs. These include permitting exemption from taxation, providing rooms, textbooks and learning aids free of charge, supplying and paying the salaries of teaching staff, and tendering expert advice.

Programmes financed in cash from private sources are very largely

1. cf. Unesco, *A Retrospective Survey. . .*, op. cit., p. 47–48.
2. Council for Cultural Co-operation, op. cit., p. 20.

to be found in some of the more developed countries of Western Europe, North America and in Japan by far the greater part of the national expenditure on adult education is private. Most of this private outlay is borne by employers, especially by large commercial corporations, some of which invest vast sums on occupational training.[1] Collective bargaining by trade unions, notably in the United States, is contributing to the increase in this type of expenditure. Programmes financed in kind are mainly to be found in developing countries where government frequently contributes cash or capital goods or both on condition that local inhabitants provide such physical materials as are locally available and, more importantly, their own labour. Wherever community development programmes flourish, examples may be found of buildings being erected and maintained by local communities.[2]

Unhappy consequences may ensue from reading too much significance into the scale of private expenditure on adult education. The oft-quoted statement that the aggregate expenditure on adult education in the United States exceeds Federal and State government expenditure on secondary and higher education is presumably intended to amaze the credulous by showing that the national investment in adult education has reached unimagined proportions. So it has. But it is essential to realize that the investment is concentrated mainly in the one sector of occupational training. Other sectors continue to be neglected and are likely to find their position deteriorating even further if complacency is allowed to set in.

From the point of view of non-governmental organizations, including universities, it is undesirable to become unduly dependent on public funds. Freedom to experiment and to tailor activities to individual and collective needs as identified by the professional staff ultimately depends on the enjoyment of financial autonomy. This autonomy is best assured when income is derived from a variety of sources and not exclusively from the public purse.

Many agencies try to augment income by fund raising, particularly by making appeals to industry and to foundations. Agencies in developing countries often look for help outside their national boundaries. During the period since the Montreal Conference, aid from national governments and international bodies in support of programmes in developing countries greatly increased but became more restrictive. There were two kinds of restriction: the first was in respect of the type of programme; the second was in respect of the duration of aid. In general, the new practice has been to fund an innovative programme for a specified period of time on the understanding

1. H. F. Clark and H. S. Sloan, *Classrooms in the Factories*, New Jersey, 1958.
2. Self-help of this sort is also sometimes remarked in industrially advanced countries.

that the recipient country should eventually take it over and extend it on a regional or nation-wide basis. From the point of view of both the donor and the recipient countries this has proved to be a fruitful arrangement. Several of these aid schemes, involving such matters as correspondence instruction, are referred to in subsequent chapters.

Governments—or where appropriate, local governments—must decide whether adult education is a public service that ought to be more or less free to all those who satisfy the specified criteria for entry into a programme, or a consumer good which people ought to pay for in whole or in part. At the present time, there are two extreme views about this question. According to one view, facilities should be absolutely free on the basis of the simplistic argument that schooling is free so adult education should be free. The opposite view is that adults should pay economic fees for their education. In the middle are those who argue that some facilities should be free but others should be paid for.

The most familiar argument in favour of charging fees is that people value only what they pay for. Paying even a nominal fee will cause participants to take a programme more seriously and thereby reduce the drop-out rate. A second argument is that competition between private agencies is necessary so as to place a premium on the continual improvement of programmes and therefore that fees ought to reflect what the market demand will bear. A third argument in favour of charging fees is that it permits more rapid growth. Against charging fees there are three main objections. One is that the real cost of most adult education programmes—like that of most formal educational programmes—is relatively so high that if they have to meet it the lower income groups will be disbarred from taking part. Secondly, fees act as a disincentive not only to the poor but to would-be participants in general.[1] The third objection is that historical evidence shows that when an agency is obliged to rely for survival on earning income from students' fees it soon abandons all but its profitable activities.[2]

In many countries there is a growing tendency to adopt the compromise of charging fees to adults whose careers will clearly profit from a particular course. Thus, in developing countries, fees may not be charged for the equivalent of primary education because that is seen to be a basic human right but must be charged for secondary education because that represents a privilege not available to everyone. In developed countries the parallel is not to charge for the equivalent of

1. Strangely there is little empirical evidence about this subject; such as there is conflicts. Some agencies report that contrary to expectations the raising of participants' fees has resulted in a rise in enrolments.
2. See, for example, B. R. Clark, *Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity*, University of California Press, 1968, where the author describes the effects of what he terms the 'enrolment economy'.

secondary education but to do so for higher education courses. Other distinctions are worth making—one is between those who want to raise the quality of a life already culturally rich and those who are in some fashion disadvantaged, such as the physically disabled or migrant workers. It may also be reasonable to ask those who have already successfully passed through a specific programme to pay a fee if for some reason they should wish to repeat the experience. Certain categories of participants might be considered eligible for loans—for example, those studying for a part-time degree. Three final conditions might be made about participants' fees; one is that they should be standardized so as to avoid discrimination; another is that fees should be waived or reduced below the norm for experimental programmes; a third is that participants should be allowed to pay fees in instalments so as to escape having to find a large sum of money at the beginning of a course.[1]

As with students' fees, there are two extremes of opinion about paying fees to part-time organizers and instructors. At one extreme there is the view that adult education is a social service and that part-time staff are under an obligation to organize or to give a class or a lecture for no more than their necessary expenses. At the other extreme there is the view that part-time staff should be paid the professional rate for the job. It is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules in this matter. In cultures where dedication to the public interest is deeply entrenched, then part-time staff will give their best for no material reward. The experience of Cuba during their 1961/62 campaign against illiteracy and the general experience of Burma and China in recent years demonstrate that the large-scale employment of full-time salaried school-teachers, university students and professional people on a voluntary basis is perfectly possible in some societies. By contrast it is the experience of adult educators in other countries that if part-time staff are not paid competitive fees and expenses, the service may gain in terms of reduced expenditure but suffer more or less acutely in terms of quality.

To be sure of a secure future, adult education agencies in any country need to be funded on as regular a basis as, and on a comparable scale with, schools and universities. Where economic resources are considerable it is desirable to draw upon public and private financing, but in the last resort it is the State which must bear responsibility. According to a general principle enunciated in the recent Council of Europe report on financial aspects of adult education:[2]

> It appears to be generally recognized that the State (i.e. all public authorities) ranging from the government to the local

1. It is not always necessary to pay fees in cash. In the Gabon, for example, students may pay in foodstuffs or other commodities.
2. Council for Cultural Co-operation, op. cit., p. 20.

> authority) accepts the promotion of adult education as one of its duties as is the case with school and university education. This means that a financial contribution towards the cost of a comprehensive system of adult education is a duty of the state: a number of delegates go further and think that the basic financing of adult education as a part of public education is a duty of the state.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, 60 per cent of the grants for adult education are paid by towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, yet only 30 per cent of the population live in such towns. Rural areas are much less well served.[1]

Commission I at the Tokyo Conference pointed out that:[2]

> It required no great effort of the imagination to suggest such things as direct contributions from enterprises, new levies, tax exemption arrangements, the lifting of taxes on cultural products, and even, for adults of privileged groups, self-support etc. The crux of the problems seemed to be that many countries had never before known such a level of private income combined with such a shrinkage of public resources. It was true that many countries had adopted a system based exclusively upon the satisfaction of individual needs to the detriment of communal facilities of all kinds, both health and culture.

Reallocation of financial resources is the only realistic answer to the problem since in many countries expenditure on the formal system of education has already swollen to terrifying proportions. To raise still further the percentage of national budgets devoted to educational expenditure is out of the question. However, a strong case for reallocation of resources can be sustained, not only on grounds of social justice but on grounds of social benefits. Much of the current expenditure on the formal system is wasteful in that it produces school-leavers and university graduates who are either unemployable or not employable in the job for which they have been trained or to which they aspire. By contrast investment could be channelled into those forms of adult education from which social benefits clearly derive—forms that include not only occupational training but health education. In one of his two addresses at the Tokyo Conference, M. René Maheu boldly stated that he had:[3]

> ... no hesitation in saying that in certain cases the present distribution ought to be revised because it is too neglectful of those—and I am referring to adults—who make up the active portion of the population, improvement of whose training will therefore contribute more directly to improving the present

1. Council for Cultural Co-operation, op. cit., p. 20.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 26.
3. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 66.

> behaviour patterns and raising the productivity of society; but whatever may be the desirable proportion to establish between what might be called short-term investments—by which I mean adult education—and long-term investments, i.e. the education of the young, we must realise that what we have to do is balance the requirements of two phases in a single, continuous human process and two components of a single policy.

And the General Report concluded:[1]

> Statutory support for adult education and increasing financial funding from public sources was yet another noteworthy feature of the post-Montreal period. There was still, however, far too little public money devoted to adult education. The budgetary allocations for adult education would have to rise significantly during the 1970s if life-long education were to be made possible. The Conference pointed out that this would require whole-hearted commitment to adult education by governments. The scale and method of financing would be crucial during the coming years.

Funding from public sources does not imply relying exclusively upon revenue from direct or indirect taxation. Governments can legitimately require the industrial and commercial sector of the economy to bear all or most of the cost of occupational training or general education for the work force or both. Moreover, if inclined, they can imitate Nigeria and reallocate some of the revenue raised by industry and commerce to general adult education purposes.

The great advantage of public funding within an integrated global system of education is that economies of scale may be achieved and unit costs reduced. Costs are also lower when a symbiotic attachment is formed between formal and non-formal education. Moreover, public funding is the only way of ensuring that help is given where it is most needed.

At present, adult education suffers from a severe shortage of funds for all purposes. Non-teaching expenditure is derisively small. If adult education institutions are to receive funds commensurate with their objectives, they will have to demonstrate that they are able to use those funds efficiently and in certain respects more effectively than the formal educational system. Beyond small-scale book-keeping there are few signs as yet that adult educators see the importance of measuring the costs of various choices and analysing the results of their expenditure. Such a cost/benefit approach, however, will have to become commonplace in the future.

To sum up the last two chapters, adult education must be a central government responsibility. It must be guaranteed appropriate structures and adequate financing by means of State laws prescribing

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 12.

criteria for, and minimum levels of, expenditure. It is essential to have a comprehensive planning strategy, though this does not rule out a pluralistic pattern of provision. Co-ordination should be ensured by the creation of inter-sectoral committees. Adult education, however, will wither if it is too rigidly controlled from the centre. Local initiative, co-ordination and control are all important. So also is the freedom to experiment of private as well as public agencies.

Chapter 10

Research and development

To browse through historical documents about adult education within almost any national or international context can be a chastening experience in that problems thought to be contemporary often turn out to be perennial or at any rate recurrent. Moreover, proposed solutions turn out to have been proposed several times before and even supposed innovations turn out not to be innovations at all. Much effort is wasted in this way. To profit completely from the lessons of the past is notoriously impossible in whatever area of human endeavour. Nevertheless it would seem that, as a social service, adult education has been especially profligate in ignoring its antecedents. It is only commonsense to try systematically to formulate working hypotheses and to process and disseminate information about important findings and interesting experiences. In short, there is an urgent need for the adoption of a realistic research and development policy. The need was not even considered at the Montreal Conference and it is significant that Arnold Hely made not one reference to research in his post-conference survey. The Tokyo Conference, however, noted with regret the neglect of research in adult education:[1]

> Since adult education was still an emerging field of study it was imperative to examine objectively and systematically the appropriateness of what was being done. In general, empirical and operational research in the field of adult education had been neglected. Nearly all the time and resources of education departments had been devoted to pedagogical matters. For this reason, one type of person of crucial importance to the future of adult education was the research specialist.

There are several reasons why up to the present day research in adult

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 36.

education has been sparse. To begin with, educationists throughout the world have tended to concentrate upon issues affecting primary and secondary, and more recently higher, education, sparing only an occasional glance in the direction of adult education. Secondly, scholars in the social sciences have so single-mindedly pursued their separate disciplines that they have largely ignored the education of adults except as an incidental field of concern. Thirdly, the indeterminate nature of adult education, especially by comparison with the relatively clearly defined sector of formal education, has caused education specialists to shy away from it. Fourthly, and as a corollary to the above reasons, there has been an acute shortage of research funds.[1] Finally, those who administer and organize programmes have been far too busy themselves to indulge in what they fear may be abstract theorizing and time-consuming, arid investigations.

Yet research in adult education deserves to be treated as a high priority both by government and adult educators, for at least four good reasons. First, as we have seen, the growth of a nation's economic output nowadays depends upon the efficient training and retraining of the workforce and this in turn entails effective planning, deployment of staff resources, application of educational technology, curricular design and recruitment of students—requirements that cannot be left to hit-or-miss arrangements. Secondly, in all branches of adult education new approaches to, and flexible methods of, programming and communication will become effective only when there is a steady and discriminating accumulation of tested knowledge and experience upon which to base and evaluate them. Thirdly, practitioners will only obtain good results when they adopt the habit of formulating hypotheses about the impact of their programmes which are subject to empirical measurement. Accordingly they must constantly consider how to identify needs, how to make decisions about what courses to offer, how to present those courses, the optimum length of a given course, and so on. Finally, neither government departments nor grant-awarding trusts, especially in the cost-benefit period we have now entered, can be expected substantially to increase their financial support for adult education unless, in place of moral arguments backed only by subjective evidence, they are confronted with compelling evidence derived from systematic inquiries.

Up to the present time research in adult education has commonly but erroneously been identified with esoteric activities carried on in universities. Some of the research undertaken in universities

1. cf. Brunner *et al.*, op. cit., p. 5: 'Another reason for the paucity of adult education research has been lack of financial support. Among all the agencies concerned, only the Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service—the joint rural adult education enterprise of the United States Department of Agriculture and the state colleges of agriculture—has devoted appreciable amounts to research.'

may well be useless to either man or beast, as some adult educators contemptuously maintain, but much of it has been strictly relevant to operational practice. It is a question, therefore, not of channelling research in entirely new directions but of conducting more research on the same lines as at present and ensuring that it is applied to the design and conduct of programmes and not lost in libraries. For small though the amount of research has been, very little of it has influenced practice.

Adult education, like law, medicine or engineering, is a practical discipline whose aim is to effect change in people's habits and attitudes, to improve methods and techniques of communication and to help solve urgent social and economic problems. Applied and active research rather than pure research are therefore called for. This is the view taken in the U.S.S.R. where the principal research goal is to improve the efficiency of evening schools. The General Adult Education Research Institute, originally founded in Leningrad in 1961, employs 100 research workers, representing a wide range of disciplines, maintains a library containing 200,000 volumes and investigates adult education phenomena of all kinds. Applied and action research techniques are also consistently used in functional literacy programmes as a means of empirically monitoring operational programmes while in full progress with a view to detecting errors or weaknesses and to indicating measures for eradicating them. This does not mean that pure research is to be discouraged, but rather that researchers should resist the tendency to assume that only knowledge derived from classical scientific methods of inquiry is of any value. Valuable investigations may take the form of fact-finding or of using simple tools to assess the merits of quite small programmes. Any attempt, at whatever level, to test hypotheses or to classify knowledge and experience deserves to be acknowledged as a contribution to research.[1] Thus, the humblest organizer at the village level who experiments with methods of communication and modestly reports on and evaluates each of his projects is performing a useful service. Since administrators and planners can seldom spare time for experimentation under laboratory conditions they must necessarily concentrate upon 'on-going' research directly related to their programme of work. For instance, they will want to study groups of adults currently attending classes rather than attempt to select control groups. To dispense with control groups may well displease some social scientists, but as a rule inquiries can be initiated only in the light of administrative expedience.

1. In practice, most adult educators do take a liberal view of what constitutes research. cf. Brunner *et al.*, op. cit., p. 6: '. . . an examination of the works listed in adult education research bibliographies reveals an exceedingly liberal definition of what constitutes research. Works which seem to be merely statements of philosophy based on the author's personal experience and his inevitably limited knowledge of the experience of others, are freely included.'

So far there has been too little communication between researchers and active adult educators, which helps to explain why some research is sterile and why so many useful findings have been ignored. Communications must be improved so that researchers can deal with actual problems and ensure, through consultation with field workers, that their investigations are well grounded. It is, moreover, only through such close consultation that the development factor can be kept in the forefront. In principle, the freedom of university staff and others to choose their own research interests should be preserved, but government, foundations and adult education administrators have a right to commission research projects which are directly applicable to known needs and problems. Indeed, research projects have proved to be most worth while when research teams have been answerable to committees which contain programme directors with the power to implement any recommendations concerning practice.

The main topics so far to have attracted the attention of researchers are adult learning (see above), group dynamics, teaching methods, administrative and organizational procedures, evaluation and participation. Relevant to the number of other areas that might be investigated, undue attention has been devoted to the phenomenon of participation in educational activities. This is doubtless because it is comparatively easy to frame and complete research projects about the attitudes, interests and characteristics of participants since they constitute a captive audience. As René Maheu pointed out at the Tokyo Conference, it is the non-participant about whom we require more information:[1]

> It might also be well to analyse the deeper causes of one aspect—one which I consider crucial and which has not so far been studied much—of what has come to be called the crisis in education, namely the fact that in most countries adults do not sufficiently feel the need for education. This phenomenon calls urgently for intensified sociological, psychological and educational research, the results of which would provide a solid foundation for the regeneration of the content, forms and methodology of adult education. Governments, above all, would stand to gain by possessing scientific data on this question when determining the measures to be taken to give adult education optimum efficiency in relation to the community's economic and social development goals, while at the same time satisfying individual aspirations.

Aside from the phenomenon of non-participation, two vital areas which have so far been neglected are planning and financing. Commission I at the Tokyo Conference referred to:[2]

1. *Final Report*, op cit., p. 64–5.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 24.

> . . . the shortcomings of existing conceptual and technical tools, of the urgent need for methodological research preliminary, or parallel, to the work of planning; this urgency was further increased by the diversity of current methodologies and approaches, as also by the looseness of the definitions employed and the absence of statistical data.

More understanding is required about the planning and financing of current programmes so that more rational procedures can be adopted.

There is an acute shortage of statistics about adult education and such national statistics as do exist are notoriously unreliable. Two of the several reasons for the unreliability of available national statistics are:[1]

> First, agencies producing facts and figures interpret its [adult education's] scope in a variety of ways; for some it refers to any educational activity that adults engage in whereas for others it means exclusively literacy programmes or remedial education or formal education. Secondly, methods of collecting data tend to be conspiciously unscientific and there is evidence that some institutions are addicted to padding enrolment figures.

Even before the Tokyo Conference, Unesco's Office of Statistics had turned its attention to the problem of collecting statistics on formal adult education as part of the process of preparing an International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED).[2]

The Tokyo Conference recommended that Unesco should:[3]

> . . . consider the possibility of an initial data-gathering project with a view to setting up a permanent system for the gathering and processing of statistical data on adult education. . .

Since the conference considerable progress has been made. Unesco's Office of Statistics has produced a manual[4] designed to assist Member States wishing to collect statistics on formal adult education. This manual provides a definitional framework and a practical classification for programmes of formal adult education. The manual has been field-tested in a pilot project in the Libyan Arab Republic,[5] and another pilot project is currently under way in Norway.

1. Introduction to J. Lowe (ed.), op. cit., p. 2.
2. For a number of years education questionnaires sent out to Member States have included a section on adult education. The Office of Statistics was reluctant in the past to publish any statistics because some sections were returned blank, others had 'data not available ' written across them, and others could give only speculative estimates or partial figures.
3. *Final Report*, op. cit., Recommendation 14, p. 48.
4. Unesco, *Proposals for . . .*, op. cit.
5. Unesco, *National Directory of Adult Education Programmes in the Libyan Arab Republic, 1973*, Paris, Unesco. Office of Statistics, August 1974; and its *Statistics on Formal Adult Education in the Libyan Arab Republic, 1973*, Paris, Unesco, Office of Statistics, 1974 (unpublished statistical report).

Statistics on non-formal adult education and self-directed learning present special problems of collection. Since no enrolment or registration of participants takes place, data cannot be collected from adult education organizations. The most effective way of collecting data on non-formal adult education and self-directed learning is through personal interviews. The United Nations is actively encouraging countries to establish a programme of integrated demographic, social and related economic statistics through household surveys. Through this programme it will be possible, in the long run, to obtain statistics on all types of adult education.

The field of adult education suffers from the fact that new knowledge often remains unknown beyond a small circle of specialists. Commission 2 at the Tokyo Conference emphasized:

> . . . the need for the wider dissemination of research results not only within each country but also internationally. For the purpose of disseminating research findings speedily and efficiently more documentation centres were required. More annotated bibliographies and up-to-date handlists of research recently completed or currently in progress would be invaluable.

Detailed bibliographies on adult education now exist in Africa, Canada, England and Wales and the United States. A bibliography on adult education in Western Europe is about to be published. The European Bureau of Adult Education circulates abstracts gleaned from journals and reports. The Institute for Adult Literacy Methods in Tehran not only conducts inquiries into the comparative effectiveness of various methods of providing literacy instruction but issues regular reports and bibliographies, besides offering an abstracting service. The European Centre for Leisure and Education, which is sponsored by Unesco, publishes regular reports on research in progress and has commissioned a series of annotated country-by-country bibliographies on leisure. Dr Colin Titmus is currently preparing both a dictionary and a thesaurus of terms in several languages—what is the precise meaning of *L'Education Populaire*? What is the difference between an *animateur* and 'an adult educator'? All this is very encouraging but there remain whole areas of the world where no serious attempt is made to gather information about publications in adult education.

A few systematic attempts are now being made to collect and disseminate information about research findings. Documentation centres have been established in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the Scandinavian countries. In 1967, the ERIC Clearinghouse was established in the United States with a view to accumulating a complete record of research reports and any literature whatsoever relating to adult education. This clearinghouse has already acquired an enormous amount of material both from within and without the United States. Unesco itself has established a documentation centre

under the wing of the Division of Adult Education which, although small, has an important collection of original material mainly dating from about 1970. From the international standpoint, the situation will shortly improve considerably, thanks to the plan of the International Bureau of Education systematically to gather data from every part of the world. One problem to be borne in mind is that a good deal of research pertinent to adult education is undertaken by social scientists whose primary interest lies elsewhere and who publish their findings in specialist journals concerned with their respective disciplines.

Until very recently purposeful study of adult education within a comparative perspective was almost non-existent. Today, however, a growing number of adult educationists, mainly attached to university departments of adult education, are devoting themselves to comparative studies as an academic pursuit. The lead has been given by the International Congress of University Adult Education (ICUAE), under whose auspices a seminar was held in 1966 in the United States, the main object being to agree upon a universally admissible definition of adult education and to construct a few working research models which could be applied anywhere in the world.[1] A drive to promote comparative studies has been made by the adult education section of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). Besides publishing a new journal, *Convergence*, this department has arranged major international seminars on methodology and provided an opportunity for foreign scholars to spend sabbatical leaves at OISE. Thanks to its initiative, the 1970 seminar at the famous Pugwash centre, Nova Scotia, took as its theme the promotion of comparative studies in adult education. For its own part, Unesco has demonstrated keen interest by sponsoring several comparative inquiries, including two studies of the role of universities and the professionnal training of adult educators undertaken by ICUAE. In January 1972, Unesco also helped to subsidize an international expert meeting at Nordborg organized by the Danish National Commission for Unesco.[2] At the Tokyo Conference, delegates endorsed the perceptible trend to expand comparative studies by making some specific recommendations:[3]

> Considering that the planning of education, like any other planning, calls for a planning-programming-budgeting approach and that the requirements of life-long education entail coordinated planning of school and adult education systems.
>
> Considering also that the difficulties encountered in the planning of adult education stem from an inadequate awareness

1. For the proceedings of this meeting see Liveright and Haygood (eds.), op. cit.
2. *Agenda for Comparative Studies in Adult Education: Report from the International Expert Meeting, 1972*, Syracuse, 1972.
3. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 48.

among those responsible, from a shortage of specialists and from a lack of comparable data.

Recommends that Unesco:

1. Organize, as frequently as possible, regional seminars, open to various categories of participants, on the planning, administration and financing of adult education;
2. Encourage small international meetings for the comparative study of adult education.

Two kinds of study are initially required in order to establish comparative adult education on solid foundations. First, it is necessary to have a series of descriptive/analytical surveys of the anatomy of adult education in as many countries as possible. The few national surveys so far published have taken the form either of an appraisal of selected trends and issues or a systematic account of the over-all provision. There have also been two types of authorship: a sole author; or a team of authors. For the purpose of merely conveying information either approach suffices but from the point of view of evolving an analytical method the study by one author is preferable.[1]

The second kind of study, already being undertaken by several scholars, is to identify a particular process or activity which is controllable in scale and for which sufficient reliable data appear to be available and to scrutinize its manifestations in as many countries as possible. Such a controllable research inquiry is the training of professional adult educators, for wherever training programmes exist investigators can turn to the supervisory staff for information in the expectation that it will not only be forthcoming but authentic. The list of controllable research topics is bound to be small especially if investigators try to deal with more than two countries and the methodological problems are always formidable.

There are certain complex questions suitable for examination by teams of researchers which should attract financial support from aid-giving foundations. Some of these questions are as follows:

Is adult education a significant variable in national development planning or is it not?

Which approach to introducing adult education programmes *has been* more effective in the developing countries: the British or the French? Consider, say, in relation to Sudan and Chad or Ghana and the Ivory Coast.

What forms of adult education have been transferred successfully from one culture to another? Why were they successful?

1. A good example of a comprehensive survey by one author is Dr Titmus' *Adult Education in France*. Two excellent Ph. D. theses have also recently been completed on adult education in Kenya and Ghana respectively, the first by Dr Roy Prosser, the second by Mr. Kwa Hagen. Two examples of multiple authorship are: D. Whitelock (ed.), *Adult Education in Australia*, Adelaide 1970; and Knowles (ed.), op. cit.

What has been the measurable impact of specific international aid programmes in the sphere of adult education?

Can one derive hypotheses from social change theories and test their validity against the lessons of mass education campaigns?

Questions like these are of a different order from the quest for useful information previously referred to. They ask 'why' rather than 'what' and any attempt to answer them will entail leaving the descriptive method far behind and embarking upon an exacting methodological exercise.

At this stage in time the interest of policy-makers and senior adult educators in comparative studies is essentially pragmatic. They want to acquire knowledge which can be applied, to learn about organizational innovations and new methods which can successfully be adapted for their own use and to try to avoid the mistakes made in other countries. With the aid of research they would also like to be able to estimate the economic and social benefits generated by their own programmes both to justify their continuing existence and to lay claim to public subventions for linear expansion as well as for *ad hoc* projects. Specialists in developing countries have an added incentive to be utilitarian, for such adult education structures as were inherited when their countries became independent were usually based on metropolitan models. Now they are intent upon designing their own planning models, constructed in part out of their own creative planning and in part out of what is worth transferring from other countries. Their practical outlook is an asset to the investigator rather than a discouragement since it means that they may be willing to support inquiries which promise to yield practical results.

The relationship between comparative education and comparative adult education as fields of inquiry needs to be defined. Is there any justification for the latter to set itself up as distinct from the former? It would seem so, for unless adult educators study their own field, no one else apparently will; comparative educationists are too few and already faced with too many subjects related to the formal system to want to deal with adult education as well. But, more importantly, the organization and distribution of adult education activities are so complex as to be known and understood only by the investigator who is prepared to specialize. This does not mean that comparative educationists need know nothing about adult education or avoid writing about it, any more than that adult educationists should ignore the pre-adult sector. It does mean, however, that no one can effectively study the phenomenon of adult education in more than one culture without a great deal of relevant knowledge and experience.

Close collaboration between the two branches of educational research is indispensable. If adult educationists have much to learn from the methods of inquiry elaborated and empirically tested over many years by educationists, educationists can also learn from adult

educationists for as the latter face and overcome the research problems that arise, they are inventing their own methods and making discoveries of value to educationists in general. It scarcely needs saying that researchers in the two fields, moreover, are both equally interested in such contemporary developments as the articulation of education and work, the transition from dependent pupil to independent adult, the interrelationship between adult education and general education processes, and the interaction between all types of educational institutions and the communities which they serve.

Which are the institutions best fitted to undertake research in adult education? For practical as well as prestigious reasons the impetus for most research will probably have to continue to come from the universities. The main reason why universities should retain this responsibility is that research and the training of adult educators tend to go best hand in hand. Already, the recent increase in the number of adult educators has led to the creation of many professional training units, especially within the universities. The staff appointed to these units are obliged to engage in research as a necessary way of building up a body of validated knowledge that can be studied by students. Moreover, as part of the training process, particularly at the higher degree level, they require their students to learn how to undertake research and to write dissertations or theses based upon specific inquiries. In many countries a good deal of the unpublished research and not a little of the published material on adult education has been the work of post-graduate students. But, as already argued above, all those involved in adult education at whatever level should be influenced by the notion of research and development. This does not mean that the field worker is required to fathom the mysteries of social survey or sampling techniques, but merely that all adult educators should continually analyse what they are doing and compile regular analytical reports about their experiences and conclusions.

In countries where there are a number of universities or where the university tradition is strongly conservative, there is a good case for establishing a national research and development centre for adult education, either quite independently or as a sub-unit of a 'lifelong education' centre. Such a centre could quickly acquire an overview of nation-wide research needs, liaise with government, employers and adult educators about research needs, undertake major research projects and commission others to do so, tender advice about research problems on request, prepare directives, bibliographies and abstracts, and take steps to ensure that information about research findings are widely diffused.

In every country it is important to draw up regional and community plans for sustained research over a number of years. Either a research and development centre or the universities could take the lead in bringing together all the interested parties and devising a pro-

gramme for deploying resources, finances and personnel as efficiently as possible. The following might be a suitable ranking order of priorities.

1. Recording and classifying existing material whether it be published or unpublished.
2. Preparing a comprehensive survey of existing facilities.
3. Commissioning straightforward descriptive studies of providing bodies and their programmes. If expert advice is available from social scientists so much the better.
4. Writing up past history so as to acquire a sense of perspective and develop a tradition.
5. Studying the relationship between social change and adult education, including the effects of migration, urbanization and industrialization.
6. Making comparative analyses of the efficacy of different teaching methods.
7. Studying the organization and administration of particular adult education programmes and their effectiveness.
8. Commissioning longitudinal studies of the effectiveness of different programmes.
9. Commissioning controlled experiments with the newer media.

In the last resort useful research in any field is only possible when there is an adequate supply of trained researchers and a sound system of financing. At present much of the investigation in adult education is undertaken by persons unversed in research methods. Many of the publications take the form of impressionistic comment which, however shrewd, is no substitute for the rigorous reporting of the results of scientific inquiry. The situation is unlikely to improve until government and foundations, seeing the national importance of adult education, encourage the establishment of competent research units by commissioning regular projects.

Chapter 11

The international dimension

Today there exists an urgent need for the developed nations greatly to enlarge the scale of their assistance for all purposes to the developing nations. More than half the people in the world are underfed, ill-housed and unhealthy. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, recently pointed out that, without emergency action, the gap between rich and poor nations will widen even further:[1]

> His nation may have doubled or tripled its educational budget, and in the capital city there may be an impressive university. But for 300 million children of poor farmers like himself there are still no schools; and for hundreds of millions of others, if a school, no qualified teacher; and if a qualified teacher, no adequate books.
>
> His nation may be improving its communications, and jet aircraft may be landing at its international airport in increasing numbers. But for the poor farmer who has seldom seen an airplane and never an airport, what communications really mean—and what he all too often does not have—is a simple all-weather road that would allow him to get his meager harvest to market when the time is right and the prices are good.
>
> If the rich nations do not act, through both aid and trade, to diminish the widening imbalance between their own collective wealth and the aggregate poverty of the poor nations, development simply cannot succeed within any acceptable time frame. The community of nations will only become more dangerously fragmented into the privileged and the deprived, the self-satisfied and the bitter. It will not be an international atmosphere conducive to tranquility.
>
> The developed nations, then, must do more to promote at

1. R. S. McNamara, quoted in *Convergence*, Vol. V, No. 4, 1972, p. 9.

least minimal equity in the distribution of wealth among nations. But the developing nations must do more as well.

It has also been pointed out that from the self-interested vantage point of such countries the welfare of the developing countries is essential:[1]

> For once it seems that conscience and necessity are walking hand in hand. We are aware that the under-developed areas represent a threat to the peace both of the world and of our own minds.

In relation to the education of adults this burning question was already a matter of concern at the Montreal Conference where one of three commissions considered ways and means of assisting the developing countries. Delegates took the need for international understanding to be axiomatic:[2]

> Survival requires that the countries of the world must learn to live together in peace. 'Learn' is the operative word.

The question was, what should be the specific contribution of adult education to international co-operation? One priority at least was clear:[3]

> The countries which are better off have an opportunity of performing such an act of wisdom, justice, and generosity as could seize the imagination of the whole world.

Since 1960 the volume of international co-operation in adult education has grown considerably, although the total impact remains small. The ramifications of multilateral and bilateral co-operation are complex but it is important that all internationally minded policy-makers and professional adult educators should be aware of them if only to ensure that they will bend every effort to ensure that there is tighter co-ordination.

The United Nations family of agencies extended its commitment to adult education during the first development decade. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have developed noteworthy programmes. Through its Human Resources Development and its Conditions of Work Departments, ILO has helped to improve the effectiveness of technical and vocational training programmes, especially by campaigning for flexible working conditions; in close collaboration with the international trade-union movement another section of the ILO has concentrated on the expansion of education for trade unionists. Since 1960, ILO has published *CIRF Abstracts*, the aim of which is to convey up-to-date information about world-wide innovations and experiments, as

1. A. Curle, *Educational Strategy for Developing Countries*, p. 10, London, 1962.
2. *Montreal Conference, Final Report*, op. cit., p. 8.
3. ibid.

well as information about major trends in the general development of manpower resources. FAO has included adult education components in its programmes for the preservation of natural resources and the training of agricultural personnel and farmers besides collaborating with Unesco in implementing functional literacy programmes for farmers.

Several intergovernmental organizations have shown increasing interest in adult education. Thus, the Council of Europe has organized a number of meetings and sponsored a series of specialist studies, which have already made a formidable contribution to the literature of adult education. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) became interested in adult education in the early seventies and has energetically promoted the policy of recurrent education in its member countries.

There is scarcely any non-governmental international organization which does not pay some attention to adult education. The World Confederation of Labour (WCL) has held a number of adult education conferences and seminars in Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia for workers and farmers, concentrating especially on national development problems and trade-union education. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), in co-operation with the Canadian Labour Confederation, sponsored a world conference in 1967 on 'Labour Education' and has held a number of regional seminars and study groups, including a pre-Tokyo meeting in Norway. The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has been active in the field of literacy, collaborating with Unesco in 1969 in organizing a World Conference on Functional Literacy in Cyprus. Its other programmes have included seminar-workshops on aspects of vocational training and trade-union education and development projects. The Adult Education Committee of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), formed only one year before the Montreal Conference, has arranged meetings of specialists in many parts of the world and published papers on a number of topics of current concern. The World Federation of Teachers' Unions (WFTU-FISE) has a special interest in research about the concept of lifelong learning. In 1971, in Khartoum, it organized a regional meeting for representatives of African teachers' trade unions on the role of teachers in functional literacy.

Inaugurated in 1960, the International Congress of University Adult Education (ICUAE) has held two world conferences, in Denmark (1965) and in Canada (1970). The congress publishes a quarterly journal, the *Journal of the International Congress of University Adult Education*. The International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations (IFWEA) with a membership in fifteen countries, has continued to arrange an annual seminar in addition to occasional conferences. In 1965, a group of enthusiasts specializing in correspon-

dence education formed the International Council on Correspondence Education, which has since been highly productive.

Outside Europe and North America regional co-operation was virtually non-existent before 1960. But during the sixties several regional associations were formed and there was a general increase in regional exchanges of information. The first association to appear (1964) was the Asian and South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE); it is supported by nine countries, publishes a journal, has sponsored several regional meetings in South-East Asia and, despite its lack of resources, has done much to interest governments and non-governmental agencies in its region in the cause of adult education. The East and Central African Adult Education Association, also formed in 1964, (curiously enough, only two months after ASPBAE), arranges an annual seminar on professional themes in conjunction with its annual general meeting, out of which a number of published reports have appeared on such topics as research and training. A forward stride was taken at the 1968 conference when delegates resolved to change it into a pan-African association to be known as the African Adult Education Association. One of the reasons was to bridge the gap between English-speaking and French-speaking African countries. In 1966, representatives of a small group of Latin American countries formed a regional association entitled Inter-American Federation for Adult Education (FIDEA). One area in the world where there has been a good deal of regional co-operation is Central America. Based in Costa Rica is the Instituto Centro-Americano de Extensión de la Cultura (ICECU) and in Mexico there is the Regional Centre for Functional Literacy in the Rural Areas of Latin America (CREFAL) which is supported by Unesco. The Centro Intercultural de Documentación (CIDOC), internationally famous because of the panache of one of its board members, Ivan Illich, is a meeting place where humanists in every field discuss ideological change and development in Latin America. The centre provides research facilities and a documentation service besides organizing occasional seminars; for example, a seminar held in January 1972 considered alternatives to the present educational systems in Latin America. We may also note La Asociación Latinamericana de Profesionales (CREA) in Venezuela, founded by former students of CREFAL. Co-operation among the Arab States is mainly associated with the Arab Regional Literacy Organization (ARLO) and the Regional Centre for Functional Literacy in Rural Areas in the Arab States (ASFEC), which is situated at Sirs-el-Layyan in the Arab Republic of Egypt and financially supported by Unesco. In 1969 adult educators from Canada, Mexico and the United States of America arranged a regional conference which led to the formation of a joint consultative group. In Western Europe, despite living a hand-to-mouth existence, the European Bureau of Adult Education, with twelve member countries, has greatly extended the scope of its

services. Its journal *Notes and Studies*, published in three languages, is widely read, and since 1969 it has been providing an invaluable abstracting service. The bureau keeps in close touch with the Council of Europe and arranges frequent seminars.

Since the Montreal Conference there has been a notable expansion of exchange programmes both for professional adult educators and for workers and members of co-operative movements. The former are often sponsored by universities and adult education organizations, the latter by the big mass organizations, for example, the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA). Unesco continues to offer travel grants to educational leaders in workers' organizations and adult education associations; exchanges are available for any Member State, candidates being selected with the active participation of workers' organizations. Already at the Montreal Conference it was apparent that a small band of adult educators had come into existence who spoke a common professional language and who understood one another's aims and problems. Thanks to the frequency of international conferences, and the relative reduction in the cost of air travel, more and more professional adult educators are finding it possible to participate in regional and international gatherings and on the way to visit their colleagues in other countries.

International aid may be organized either multilaterally or bilaterally and it may be financed from either public or private funds. Following the emergence of many new independent countries in the early sixties, programmes of international aid were considerably expanded through the international programmes of the United Nations family (UNDP) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as well as multilateral and bilateral programmes arranged among Member States. The Unesco/UNDP projects provide experts, equipment and fellowships for developing countries whose governments request assistance. A few regional seminars and workshops on adult education and literacy have also been held with UNDP's financial support. Since 1964, Unesco has administered certain trust funds for the development of education in seventeen Member States from which adult education projects have already benefited—for example, in Afghanistan there is a co-operative education project planned in collaboration with FAO and financed by SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority). In Zambia a functional literacy project integrated with agricultural extension has been financed by secondary school pupils in Denmark and Norway. The World Bank has sponsored major projects designed to assess the relevance of non-formal education to national development.[1]

Numerous aid programmes have been financed by single countries among which are Canada, the Scandinavian countries, the United

1. See page 201-2

Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, Switzerland and Italy. In addition to providing advisers and equipment, aid programmes usually offer fellowships which enable edult educators from developing countries to attend both short- and long-term courses in the donor country and to make prolonged study tours. Among Member States awarding fellowships are Australia, Canada, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Next, there has been a variety of specific aid schemes. Belgium has given assistance to Burundi. In 1969 Spain donated 1 million pesetas to the literacy campaign in Paraguay. Until 1972 Denmark offered an annual long-term training course for adult educators working in rural areas. Sweden has built and equipped a vocational training centre at Yelepa, Nimba Country, at a cost of $2 million. In 1967 the Scandinavian countries agreed to support a co-operative extension programme in Kenya for a period of five years. The Federal Republic of Germany trains adult educators from a select number of countries in Africa and Central America and has recently started to provide funds for the development and, where necessary, the establishment of national institutes of adult education, believing that in each country there is need for a strong infrastructure. Japan offers long-term courses for overseas technicians and skilled workers. Saudi Arabia provides assistance to other Arab States. Israel offers training courses, sends out experts to run local training schemes, and supplies specialists for short- or long-term assignments. In addition to long-term aid schemes, there have been several 'one-off' or *ad hoc* projects; for example, the Kellogg Foundation (United States) provided a capital grant and a short-term recurrent allowance to enable residential colleges to be established at Nsukka in Eastern Nigeria and at Oxford in the United Kingdom. The Dag Hammarsjköld Foundation (Sweden) financed two major international training courses in correspondence education and assisted five African countries to launch correspondence course centres. A recent tendency has been for international agencies to finance applied research projects. One such project, directed by Dr James Sheffield and Dr Victor Diejomaoh, led in 1971 to the publication of a substantial report *Non-Formal Education in African Development.*

Like the Montreal Conference, the Tokyo Conference devoted some time to examining the problem of international co-operation. While noting with satisfaction the great variety of developments recorded in the foregoing pages, it reached the disquieting conclusion that:[1]

The inadequacy of international and bilateral aid was also very

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 12.

> apparent. For many developing countries with strained economies, where the demand for education greatly exceeded available resources, substantial international or bilateral aid held out a major hope of advancement.

The truth is that, if one leaves on one side the relatively large sums expended on functional literacy programmes, only a minute percentage of the over-all aid for educational programmes is allocated for adult education. Then, there is the problem that so much aid turns out to be inappropriate in that it encourages the proliferation of programmes that do not fit into the existing system of adult education or causes the recipients to devote resources to the maintenance of plant and equipment which might more profitably be spent in other ways. There is growing evidence that certain donor and recipient countries have become increasingly doubtful about the value of external aid either in the form of personnel or material inputs. Other drawbacks of many present agreements are that financial aid is fragmentary and available for a short term only. There is also, perhaps not surprisingly in view of national preoccupations with economic outputs, an undue stress on skills training at the expense of other types of educational programmes. Disenchantment with the effects of external aid has been reinforced in some countries by scepticism about the value of certain kinds of foreign experts.

This is not a counsel of despair but an indication that both donors and recipients need to ensure that aid is furnished only for those schemes which have been thought out thoroughly and which chime with national or local development plans. The Tokyo Conference debated the question what kind of co-operation between countries was most beneficial and concluded:[1]

> Noting that there was a demand in all countries for technical co-operation and that there was in the developed countries a corresponding desire to respond to that demand and to carry out exchanges, the Commission stressed the need to pick out the critical points so as to be able to define the areas for co-operation. For instance, the situation was to be avoided whereby adult education not only did not result in any democratization but resulted instead in a deepening of the gulf between privileged and underprivileged.

The conference also took the view that priority should be accorded to the countries that might be designated the least privileged.

One encouraging trend is that of devoting external resources to non-formal types of learning, particularly in order to foster rural development. Thus,[2]

> The A.I.D. [Agency for International Development] programme

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 27.
2. Evidence supplied by the United States for the Tokyo Conference.

> of technical co-operation has identified as one of its three priority areas for assistance during the 1970s the area of non-formal education whereby systematic learning can be provided outside the formal system.

Coombs has pointed out that as the developing countries 'entered the 1970's they found themselves, without exception, in the throes of a deepening educational crisis', of which for several reasons rural people were the most serious victims. This crisis prompted a strong new interest by policy-makers in what came to be called non-formal education.[1]

ICED, of which Coombs is the director, has performed a uniquely important service by conducting several searching surveys of out-of-school programmes in developing countries, under contract to Unicef and the World Bank, with a view to showing how non-formal education can make an invaluable contribution to rural development.

It was pointed out above that the complexity of current patterns of international co-operation points to the need for far more effective means of co-ordination than we have at the present time. In furthering the expansion of adult education through international co-operation, Unesco clearly has a role to play of cardinal importance. This fact was noted by delegates at the Elsinore Conference but, according to Hely, that role was imperfectly performed in the fifties because, within the very infrastructure of Unesco itself, there was no attempt to co-ordinate and integrate[2]

> . . . all its programmes concerned with the education of adult within a single Department of Adult Education.

He also considered that Unesco was unwise to accept the narrow definition of adult education adopted by the Elsinore Conference and deplored the fact that:[3]

> The Consultative Committee on Adult Education, established on the recommendation of the Elsinore Conference, had the responsibility to advise, not Unesco but the Adult Education Division of Unesco. This meant that, strictly speaking, its advice was confined to programmes and activities limited by both the budget and the purposes of this single division.

This arrangement, he argued, left the status and role of the committee uncertain. To make matters worse, the composition of the committee turned out to be insufficiently representative of the diverse adult education interests involved.

Although recognizing that many of the Elsinore recommendations had been followed up, delegates at the Montreal Conference

1. Coombs, *et al.*, *Attacking Rural Poverty* . . ., op. cit., p. 3–4.
2. Hely, op. cit., p. 92.
3. ibid.

felt that Unesco's contribution to the field was inadequate on three counts:[1]

> (a) [it] was devoting too small a proportion of its total budget to adult education even if the term 'adult education' was interpreted as loosely as possible; (b) that Unesco's efforts in adult education were too dispersed and unco-ordinated to be fully effective; and (c) that the consultative machinery for adult education established at Elsinore was no longer appropriate to the tasks.

After the Montreal Conference, Unesco created a new tripartite department consisting of youth, literacy and adult education divisions as well as an International Advisory Committee for Out-of-School Education. Unfortunately for adult education as a whole—and in the long run for literacy itself—attention was chiefly concentrated upon the development of literacy programmes, not least, perhaps, because UNDP was prepared to furnish substantial funds, especially for the functional literacy projects launched during the second half of the decade. The adult education division remained numerically small and devoted its main efforts to formulating and clarifying new ideas. From about 1969 a reviving interest in adult education was discernable in Unesco, an interest which steadily quickened after the General Conference decided at its meeting in 1970 that a third international conference should be held in 1972.

At the Tokyo Conference a number of resolutions were approved proposing that Unesco should enlarge its activities in the adult education field and give a lead to the efforts of international and non-governmental organizations actively concerned with adult education. In his initial address, the Director-General of Unesco outlined the Organization's plans for strengthening its support for the cause of adult education:[2]

> I propose that the Organization, which, as I have said, has for several years devoted most of its efforts in out-of-school education to literacy work, should henceforth consider adult education in its entirety as a priority field of action; to that end I have recommended a rate of growth of Regular Budget Appropriations for this purpose of 21.2 per cent for 1973–1974, 25 per cent for 1975–1976, and 15 per cent for 1977–1978.
>
> As for the programme in view, its aim is to contribute both to the expansion and to the regeneration of adult education. To this end, Unesco should intensify international co-operation in this field by developing links and exchanges between countries and facilitating general access to research findings. In addition Unesco would help Member States to make better use of the resources available in educational institutions, whether scho-

1. Hely, op. cit., p. 95–6.
2. *Final Report*, op. cit., p 67.

lastic or non-scholastic, to derive fuller advantage from modern educational techniques, especially through wider use of the communication media, to train staff capable of organizing and running the various forms of adult education and, finally, to strengthen information, guidance and advisory services for adults who are pursuing their studies.

In his concluding address the Director-General declared that the Conference seemed to have assigned Unesco four functions:[1]

(a) to serve as a world-wide clearing house for the collection, analysis and dissemination of information;
(b) to encourage and help facilitate communications between specialists by organizing symposia or by encouraging experiments and research;
(c) to intensify the aid given to Member States, notably 'for the preparation of policies, plans and programmes' and 'the training of skilled personnel';
(d) to provide a framework for international consultation at the regional and international levels.

The general tenor of the Director-General's remarks at Tokyo was that Unesco proposed in future to give considerably higher priority to adult education than in the past.

Since the Tokyo Conference, however, Unesco has not yet found the means to enlarge its commitment to adult education. At its meeting in May 1973 the International Advisory Committee for Out-of-School Education offered the following general observation.[2]

1. There is an obvious gap between the statements giving high priority to adult education, made by Unesco and by Member States, and the financial and personnel resources made available to it in the Approved Programme for 1973–1974 and envisaged in the Medium-Term Programme. Furthermore, the budget allocations which were foreseen in document 17 C/4 for Unesco's overall work in the field of adult education and for the Adult Education Division as a central stimulating and co-ordinating body did not show any significant increase either in relation to Unesco's total envisaged future appropriations or to the corresponding proposed budget for the Education Sector.
2. In the light of the above, the Committee stressed the importance of Unesco acting positively to fulfil the general agreement expressed and the assurances given at the seventeenth session of the General Conference that all possible action would be taken to increase the resources available to adult education by reallocation of resources in respect of both manpower and finances generally within the Education Sector's budget. In this context, the Committee noted that efforts should bear on the

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 79.
2. Unesco doc., Ed. 73/Conf. 501/3, p. 2.

best possible operational programmes, as these will obviously attract additional support and stimulate other similar endeavours.

But even in 1975 it is still too soon to pass judgement. Unesco has clearly been profoundly influenced by the key recommendation in *Learning to Be* that education should be treated within a lifelong perspective and is currently engaged in the lengthy process of identifying all those facets of its many-sided activities, including adult education, which might be subsumed under a single conceptual and perhaps administrative framework. Moreover, there is an important proposal under consideration to transform the legal status of adult education. This was embodied in Recommendation 7 of the Tokyo Conference which ran as follows:[1]

Guided by the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the Constitution of Unesco and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Believing that the right of individuals and nations to education, their right to learn and to go on learning, is to be considered on the same basis as their other fundamental rights, such as the right to health and to hygiene, the right to security, the right to all forms of civil liberty, etc.,

Noting that, while adult education in the developed countries poses problems of social advancement and of adaptation to the scientific, economic and social conditions of life in the ever-changing world of today, total illiteracy continues to afflict almost one-third of mankind, for the most part in Asia, Africa and Latin America,

Recalling that, whereas adult education thus continues to be a serious matter for the developed nations and societies, for the peoples of the Third World it is a problem of tragic proportions, thwarting their efforts for development and social advancement,

Considering that the fact that mankind shares common problems and a common destiny obliges all countries and all peoples to act in fellowship, concerting their efforts and pooling their resources in order to devise adequate solutions with the aim of securing man's all-round fulfilment,

Considering that the international community, which has given its sanction once and for all to the just cause of decolonization as a force for peace and progress for all mankind, is duty bound to strive to complete the process of decolonization by seeking adequate ways and means of going to the help of almost a third of mankind which is still struggling to free itself from the toils of total illiteracy,

Noting that decolonization will never fully attain its aim if a third of mankind, being illiterate, not only remains a frustrated

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 43–4.

onlooker of the development of the other two-thirds, but plays no part in the pursuit of progress and in the enjoyment of the benefits of universal progress,

Considering that international co-operation is a decisive factor in the development of education and that aid to the vast majority of the peoples of the Third World in this field is both a vital necessity and an act of justice, wisdom and historical restitution,

Notes that recognition of the importance of adult education for the satisfaction of individual aspirations, economic and cultural development and social progress is still far from expressing itself to anything like the desirable extent in practical action by the public authorities, working in conjunction with social organizations;

Recalls that countries, regardless of the level of development which they have reached, cannot hope to attain the development objectives which they have set themselves and to adjust to the changes of all kinds which are occurring in all societies at an ever accelerating rate if they do not give increased and constant attention to adult education and provide it with the necessary human and material resources;

Reiterates that a genuine regeneration of education and the creation of conditions for life-long education require that circumstances be created in which adults can find an answer to their problems in the context of their own lives, by choosing among a range of educational activities whose objectives and contents they have themselves helped to define;

Considers that the elaboration and the adoption of an international instrument concerning the basic principles and problems set forth above could well help to indicate solutions to the problems of the quantitative and qualitative development of adult education as a whole and more particularly to the eradication of illiteracy; and consequently,

Recommends that Unesco explore the possibility of preparing, as soon as possible and in accordance with the Rules of Procedure concerning Recommendations to Member States and International Conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution, a recommendation to Member States concerning the development of adult education, in relation to the total liberation of man.

The object of this recommendation was twofold: first to enhance the public status of adult education in Member States by guaranteeing minimum standards of provision; secondly, to encourage Member States to enact appropriate sustaining laws. The Unesco General Conference, at its seventeenth session which took place in November 1972, proposed the preparation of a preliminary study of the technical and legal aspects of an international instrument on the development of adult education. Such a study was duly prepared by the secretariat

and considered by the Executive Board at its meeting in June 1974.[1]

The Executive Board unanimously decided that the document should be presented to the General Conference at its eighteenth session, in October 1974. At that conference the two key questions considered were: was it opportune to make such a ruling? how should such a ruling be regulated—by an international convention or through a recommendation to Member States that they should choose the measures required to achieve the objectives set forth by the Tokyo Conference? The General Conference decided that an International Instrument on the Development of Adult Education should be drawn up, a momentous step in intergovernmental recognition of the importance of adult education in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

As long ago as the Elsinore Conference it was agreed:[2]

> . . . that if the aims of this Conference and of Unesco are to be achieved there must be developed an effective world-wide adult education movement. It believes, however, it would be premature . . . at this time to recommend the establishment of a permanent world organization for adult education.

Eleven years later, at the Montreal Conference, the United States presented a proposal, discussed in Commission 3, that a World Council on Adult Education should be formed and subsidized by Unesco. Again, it was decided that the time was not yet ripe.[3]

A distinguished observer at the Tokyo Conference was Professor J. Roby Kidd. He had served as President of the Montreal Conference and it is he who has done more than any man alive to further the cause of international co-operation in respect of adult education. His several achievements have included arranging an extraordinary number of international contacts and meetings and founding the journal *Convergence*. In his writing and speeches, Professor Kidd has presented a case for establishing an international association and this has received a favourable response in many quarters. Convinced that adult educators in the Third World were particularly keen on regularizing international co-operation by means of a permanent co-ordinating machinery, Professor Kidd came to the Tokyo Conference with the desire to see the formation of a full-fledged international association for adult education.

Supported by several colleagues from a number of countries, Professor Kidd convened an informal meeting to discuss plans for the inauguration of such an association. The meeting was well attended and gave rise to an unexpectedly heated controversy over the desirability of creating yet another international body. Some of those present, nearly all from Western Europe, argued that international

1. Doc. 94 EX/12.
2. *Summary Report*, p. 32.
3. *Montreal Conference, Final Report*, op. cit., p. 25–6.

bodies had proved to be far more unstable and poverty-stricken than national bodies. For another organization to enter the world arena would be to weaken still further the existing organizations and to lead to more intense competition for already scarce funds. A counter-argument to this view was that an international council, far from being divisive, could help to strengthen the existing organizations and ensure world solidarity. It was clear that a majority of those present accepted this constructive viewpoint.

Following the Tokyo Conference, Professor Kidd took steps to bring about the establishment of what it was now decided to call an International council for Adult Education. As all those had predicted who had learnt over the years to respect his ingenuity and tenacity, Professor Kidd succeeded in fulfilling his task in a remarkably short space of time. The International Council for Adult Education was formally established in 1973 and, appropriately enough, the first Chairman was Malcolm Adiseshiah, formerly Deputy Director-General of Unesco. Professor Kidd himself was nominated Secretary General. President Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania accepted the invitation to become Honorary President.

Under its constitution the objects of the council and its means of action are as follows:

To promote all forms of adult education as a means of enhancing peace and security in the world, international understanding among peoples and the advancement of less developed countries.

To promote adult education as a part of the restructuring of the educational system, relating it to the development needs of the community.

To advance activities of member associations and institutions and to encourage co-operation amongst them.

Means of action

To advise and co-operate with inter-governmental bodies, international non-governmental organizations and other institutions dealing with adult education.

To undertake and promote the organization of conferences, seminars, training courses, the operation of documentation centres and a publication program.

To undertake such other activities as the Council may decide, in pursuance of its aims.

The council has rapidly established close relations with other international organizations, including the International Council on Correspondence Education, the International Reading Association, the World Alliance of YMCAs, the International Congress of University Adult Education and the International Federation of Library Associations. The council has also wisely recognized that the strength of any international organization ultimately depends upon the strength of its regional sub-structures and to this end it has set up or is in

process of setting up regional information centres in East Africa, South-East Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Latin America. Wherever possible these regional centres are being shared with the relevant regional adult education association.

At the root of regional and international co-operation lies co-operation between key institutions. Both the Adult Education Division of Unesco and the International Council for Adult Education have fully grasped this fact. Since the Tokyo Conference, the former has introduced a regular publication entitled *Information Notes: Adult Education*, which already has a world-wide circulation, and prepared directories of documentation centres, adult education journals and associations of adult education. The explicit object of these publications is to build up a world-wide communications network so that adult education agencies no matter where they may be can establish direct and indirect contact with agencies elsewhere in the world which are facing similar problems or which have adopted programmes and methods which seem challenging.[1] For its part, the International Council significantly elected for its first major seminar in September 1974 to bring together the senior officials of national associations of adult education.

When considered in an international perspective adult education has two facets. On the one hand, there is the question of the contribution that international aid schemes can make to ironing out inequalities between nations. As we have seen, the present scale of aid is quite inadequate, although the experimental world literacy projects have shown what wonders can be performed by means of intimate collaboration between agencies and adequate funding. On the other hand, there is the question of international co-operation as a factor in the development of adult education. Here the present auguries are most encouraging.

1. Thus, in Geneva in 1973 a meeting was convened jointly by Unesco and the International Bureau of Education to consider ways and means of strengthening the links between adult education documentation centres. In consequence, an international co-operative abstracting service is being developed.

Chapter 12

Towards a learning society

At the end of Chapter 1 it was suggested that adult education had climbed to a higher plateau than might have seemed attainable even ten years or so ago. The question now is whether it will slip back or mark time or advance upwards. The short answer might well be that everything depends upon national priorities and choices. So it does. Nevertheless, certain inevitable or likely trends are to be predicted which transcend national barriers. It is also possible to specify certain measures that, irrespective of national circumstances, would transform adult education into a full-blown public service with an extensive coverage.

What are the inevitable trends to be discerned? The first is that private consumption of adult education will continue to expand. Even if thwarted of public support, the active and ambitious will find ways and means of satisfying their desire to learn whether by studying alone or by paying the market price to an institution. But, as stressed repeatedly in the preceding pages, these activists will tend to be among the relatively privileged. Secondly, there will be a continuing expansion of facilities for occupational training simply because governments, employers and trade unions have a vested interest in securing and maintaining the efficiency of the work force. Thirdly, it is difficult to see how the process of institutionalizing adult education can now be arrested, for if institutions are difficult to create, they are even more difficult to destroy. Fourthly, the newly established cadres of full-time educators will ensure that the smattering of professional expertise is reinforced. Fifthly, international exchanges of ideas, information and personnel will continue to proliferate if only because there are now so many regional and international associations anxious to strengthen their programmes and a rapidly increasing number of adult educators deeply interested in innovations outside their own countries.

Sixthly, the democratic spirit of the age indicates that the hierarchical structure of adult education will steadily crumble as subject-centred instruction progressively yields to activities focused on individual learners largely controlling their own studies. Seventh, the application of educational technology will intensify and become more effective. Finally, the tendency for governments and adult educators themselves to regard adult education as being designed as much to meet community as individual needs will continue.

So much for near certainty. There is then a whole series of desirable developments, all enumerated in preceding chapters, which may or may not flourish because their vitality depends upon the willingness of governments to sustain and finance them. They include, among many others, raising the administrative status of adult education until it attains parity with other sectors of education, expanding the numbers of full-time staff, and ensuring that sufficient accommodation and learning aids are made available for adult learning purposes.

Elsewhere reference has been made to the well-known gulf between words and deeds and to the time-lag between the enthusiastic acceptance of new educational theories or of innovations in organizational and teaching methods and their practical implementation. At the end of the general debate at the Tokyo Conference, René Maheu, who has listened in his time to more futuristic declarations than most men, wryly mused:[1]

> When one compares the debate which has just taken place with those of previous conferences of a similar nature, the progress in ideas is striking. Where did the concept of life-long education stand before the Montreal Conference in 1960, or that of functional literacy before the Teheran Conference of 1965, or that of cultural development before the Venice Conference of 1970? All these ideas which are now presented and accepted as obvious had as yet barely emerged, and were far from being readily understood, much less freely accepted, by all. I have a confession to make: I sometimes even wonder if such new, such complex ideas, which entail such profound social and mental changes can really have been assimilated so quickly, in their practical implications at least; if this assimilation had been as real as it has been swift to manifest itself at the verbal surface level, we should now be witnessing changes in our societies which, one is forced to admit, have not occurred with the same rapidity.

Adult education has suffered throughout its history from verbal praises never matched by practical assistance. In general it has survived and sometimes flourished in spite of receiving only meagre official support. But in most countries it has today probably reached the limits of qualitative, though not perhaps of quantitative, growth unless it

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 70.

receives large-scale official support. Its future development depends, that is, upon the imaginative but realistic recommendations of the Tokyo Conference being put into practice.

John Cairns, Director of the Adult Education Division of Unesco at the time of the Tokyo Conference, has summarized his assessment as follows:[1]

> . . . the Tokyo Conference set the stage for adult education to develop, to expand, and to play a crucially important role in the re-shaping of education and of society which is now taking place. No-one present in Tokyo could fail to be encouraged, excited and stimulated. Similarly, no-one concerned with the follow-up of the conference, with the translation of ideas and recommendations into action, will have any illusions about the difficulties. But the creative and positive characteristics of the conference itself, the follow-up activities already under way in many countries and, in particular, the remarkable support to adult educators manifested by Member States in the seventeenth session of the General Conference of Unesco (October and November 1972) give solid grounds for optimism.

That summary is an accurate evaluation of the tone of the Tokyo Conference and of the subsequent debate at the seventeenth session of the General Conference of Unesco in 1972, but the pregnant phrase is 'no one . . . will have any illusions about the difficulties'. The difficulties are immense. If they are to be overcome, positive measures have to be taken primarily by governments but also by adult educators and those public spirited men and women who voluntarily devote some of their time to adult educational causes.

In the first place, the dull image of adult education has to be refurbished. In a speech given in 1937 the late Richard Livingstone explained why for him education 'lags and falters'. It was.[2]

> because one's heart does not normally leap up at the thought of it—and I do not think we shall ever get any forward movement in this country until more people's hearts do leap at the thought of education.

It is true that the hearts of most people still fail to leap up at the thought of education but at least they have few doubts about the material value of the certificates and awards conferred by the formal educational system. Hearts must begin to leap just a little when they behold adult education, for only then will the providing agencies be sure of the backing of a public constituency of political substance. At present, politicians can see themselves winning precious few votes by standing on an adult education platform. For this they can scarcely be blamed,

1. J. C. Cairns, 'The Lessons of Tokyo', *Prospects*, Vol. III, No. 1, Spring 1973, p. 122.
2. E. S. Hutchinson (ed.), *Aims and Action in Adult Education*, p. 34, London, 1972.

since their main concern is to reflect public opinion, not to mould it. They cannot be expected to shout down obstinate parents who do not give a fig for their own education but insist that their children must have the best primary or secondary education available. It is significant that the few leading politicians in the world who zealously crusade on behalf of adult education are mostly to be found in countries where 'nation-building' is the immediate goal of education and where they can count upon mass support for educational campaigns aimed at overcoming visible social problems. Politicians in general will acclaim adult education only when there is a vociferous demand for it.

It is easy to state that adult education should be a comprehensive nation-wide service articulated with the educational system and so flexibly structured and financed as to minister to a multiplicity of adult learning needs. But this vision cannot be attained without adopting policy options related to the social philosophy of each State and without comprehensive and careful planning. Unlike the Montreal Conference—and this in itself was a significant fact—the Tokyo Conference devoted time both in its plenary sessions and in one of its two commissions to the important topic of planning. Nevertheless, in the final address at the conference, René Maheu felt constrained to say:[1]

> Among the questions which the Conference has perhaps not had time to go into sufficiently is that of planning. The problem of the priority which you would like to see given to adult education cannot be solved unless such education is integrated into general planning. So long as it remains on the fringe or, to put it another way, continues to be the responsibility of different ministries, the problem of adult education in the context of life-long education as you have defined it will remain undiminished, and I think it is vital to submit to closer analysis the conditions determining the meaning to be attributed to the words 'policy', 'plan' and 'programme'. To this end, adult education must first of all be recognized as a field with which the authorities responsible for the general planning of national development must concern themselves.

No matter how intrinsically splendid adult education may be and however great its potential as an instrument of economic and social development, it cannot prosper in the absence of unstinting public support. This means that its value has to be as evident to ministers, government officials and taxpayers as it is to the leading spokesmen for the professional field. At a meeting of the Unesco Out-of-Shool Committee held after the Tokyo Conference, this point was well taken:[2]

> In the same connexion, the Committee felt that, without belittling

1. *Final Report*, op. cit., p. 78.
2. Unesco doc. Ed. 73/Conf. 501/3, p. 5.

the importance and value of meetings of adult education experts, priority should for the future be given to activities directed towards those who were not already convinced supporters of the principles of adult education.

To a considerable degree, winning public support on the requisite scale entails formulating the aims and functions of adult education in terms analagous with proposals for national investment and commitment in other spheres.

Theoretically, it is possible to conceive of adult education expanding quite separately from the regular system and, indeed, in practice certain branches of adult education, such as education within employment, are growing spontaneously even without any prompting by or intervention from the public authorities. But both financial and pedagogical factors dictate that the two elements should be fused to a greater or lesser extent.[1] From the standpoint of public financing alone, it is simply not feasible to devote large sums of money to adult education at a time when, in most countries, the over-all expenditure on education must be kept constant or cut back. The solution lies rather in the re-allocation of existing resources and in more efficient and intensive use of existing plant and personnel.

The concepts of lifelong and recurrent education as yet represent little more than an ideal but there seems little doubt that many governments are committed, however haltingly, to facing up to the operational implications of trying to make educational opportunities available on a recurrent basis, especially with respect to occupational training. One of the key implications of recurrent education strategy is that the regular system must be re-structured to take into account the particular areas of knowledge and the particular skills thatc an best be acquired not at one stage in a long, uninterrupted pre-work period but via an alternation of school and work experiences. Thus, it will no longer be necessary to keep pushing back the school-leaving age, especially in those many countries where the national resources are quite inadequate to finance universal secondary education, let alone primary schooling for all. On the contrary, it will become attractive to maintain school-leaving ages at present levels and to introduce schemes for alternating education and work.

Looking to the near future it is naïve to anticipate the advent of systems of mass adult education which will enable any adult to satisfy a learning need whenever he wishes. Indeed, any attempt to introduce a mass system might prove to be self-defeating. Adequate human, physical and financial resources would be lacking and practical action

1. It is significant that the distinguished American adult educationist, Professor C. O. Houle, has given his recently published book, which aims to provide 'a unique and workable system' for adult education practice, the title of *The Design of Education*, op. cit.

would be constantly deferred, while unavailing efforts were made to reconcile irreconcilable interests and to set up a model administrative structure simultaneously comprehensive, effective and flexible. The pursuit of a mass system might thus result in waste and inefficiency since everything cannot be done at once. What is the alternative? It is to prescribe a hierarchy of priorities. Throughout the present study, it has been argued, echoing the dominant theme of the Tokyo Conference, that the first priority must be to assist the educationally underprivileged. In many countries, the pursuit of that priority will absorb most of the available resources for the foreseeable future. For other countries with greater resources, the choice of further priorities will depend upon national traditions and current social, economic and cultural pressures.

In future years the learning needs of adults are bound to increase rapidly not only in quantity but also in variety because of the twofold effect of the rapid rate at which the world population is expanding and the increasing complexity of life. If adult education facilities continue to expand at the same rate as over the past fifteen years, gratifying though that rate has been, then the gap between needs and fulfilment will steadily widen. In order to reduce the gap the present facilities will have to be multiplied many times over and firmly co-ordinated.

The most serious concern about the future of adult education is that it will be subordinated more and more to the exigencies of economic productivity. Activities leading to enhanced occupational skills will receive every encouragement whereas other activities may be neglected.[1] This danger is most likely to be averted if lifelong education becomes a formally accepted means towards continuing personal development as well as updating occupational knowledge and skills. If the hypothesis is accepted that further education during adult years is good for the individual and crucial for society, efforts must be made to strengthen the interaction between education and the formal educational system. The main functions of adult education might then be regarded as: (a) to give adults a second chance to obtain qualifications missed during childhood and youth; (b) to provide non-certificated courses for those interested in broadening their minds; (c) to promote self-development through increasing self-knowledge; (d) to update or provide essential occupational expertise; (e) to

1. cf. OCIPE, op. cit., p. 18: 'Failing a world-wide vision of education at community level, supported by appropriate means of fulfilling it, it is to be feared that the adaptation of people to the working of the economic system will take precedence over the adaptation of education to people. The need of continuing vocational education is not in doubt. What is questioned is the tendency, already widespread among member countries, of putting the accent on fitting people into the existing pattern of production and consumption, and neglecting the demands of personal and social development, including the demand to have the opportunity of influencing the evolution of society.'

orientate adults towards solving personal and communal problems and new ways of doing things; (f) to promote community action.

The ultimate goal which subsumes all the aspirations of progressive thinking about adult education is that of a 'learning society' in which knowledge will be continuously reappraised, expanded and universally disseminated. Learning will begin at school and continue throughout adulthood. Social institutions at every level will be organized to educate. Economic organizations will be as much concerned to encourage learning as to raise productivity. A futuristic vision, certainly—an ancient vision, too—but one worth holding constantly in view.

For some time since the Second World War optimistic statements have regularly been made to the effect that adult education is at last about to reach its millennium. For example:[1]

> I am inclined to think that educators living about a hundred years from now will characterise the latter part of the 20th century as the period in which adult education—in hundreds of different ways—came of age and increasingly influenced and changed the old ways of teaching.

Immediately after the Montreal Conference, the late A. S. Hely wrote a commemorative volume which has since become deservedly well known and which has been referred to in preceding chapters. Hely set the scene of the Montreal Conference in a historical perspective and assessed the world-wide status of adult education in 1960. He, too, was heartened by the current trends which he identified and took a rosy view of future prospects. It seemed to him that adult education was ascending an upward path.

Although many an adult educator toiling away in an isolated community may feel frustrated by his own apparently slow progress, there can be no question that adult education as a whole has progressed since Hely recorded his optimistic assessment. There is more awareness in political circles of its economic and social value; its functions have been enlarged in operational practice; in almost every country there has been remarkable growth in the volume of participation; in some respects there has been a parallel qualitative improvement. The question is: Will adult education prosper in the aftermath of the Tokyo Conference?

The answer may well hinge upon the way governments and international organizations finally respond to the recommendations made at the conference. When the conference began, many a delegate was heard to predict that it would be the last gathering of its kind. By the time the closing session had been reached delegates were so stimulated by the lively discussions that had taken place and the constructive

1. J. Novrup, in F. Jessup (ed.), *Adult Education Towards Social and Political Responsibility*, p. 16–17, Hamburg, 1953.

proposals that had been put forward that they unanimously resolved that another international conference should be held not in ten years' time but after a much shorter interlude. The Tokyo Conference presented governments and Unesco itself with a persuasive blueprint for energetic action. The concrete proposals for expanding and diversifying adult education services will be costly for most countries but not prohibitively so and, arguably, the cost will be handsomely recouped from the ensuing economic, social and cultural benefits.

In the past, policy-makers neglected adult education because it seemed a low public priority and the voices of its spokesmen sounded hesitant and discordant. The *Final Report* of the Tokyo Conference sets forth compelling reasons why in the future adult education should be raised to the same status as primary, secondary and university education and gives clear guidance as to how that elevation can be achieved. If in practice adult education continues to suffer from neglect and the prophecies of its more sanguine supporters are not borne out, it will be because the Tokyo recommendations have been quietly buried.

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